BLACK YOUTH'S INTERACTIONS AND EXPERIENCES WITH POLICE IN SOUTHERN ALBERTA

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DEDICATION

To all children and youth whose mothers have gone too soon and the community that stepped in their place.

ABSTRACT

This project examines whether Black youth experience differential treatment during their interactions with police in Southern Alberta, how those experiences might differ from those of others residing in larger, more prominent Canadian or United States (U.S.) cities, and the extent to which those experiences shape their sense of belonging in Canada, Alberta, their cities of residence, and their Black communities. Using a Critical Race Mixed Methodology consisting of an online perception survey and interviews, I created 37 cases that I analyzed in NVivo, using an intersectional Counter-Storytelling framework. Of the 46 Black youth aged 16-30 that participated in this study, those who identified as women, who were also Black youth from Lethbridge, were more likely to experience subtle forms of police violence, ranging from dismissiveness to harassment and intimidation. In contrast, participants from Calgary who predominantly identified as men were more likely to experience physical and hostile police violence, ranging from handcuffing to having firearms aimed at them. As a result, I found that anti-Black police violence is as much a problem in Southern Alberta as in larger cities like Toronto or Ottawa, Ontario. However, this study revealed that covert police violence happened more to the participants and significantly impacted them. This is due primarily to the fact that these forms of violence are hard to challenge. This study, therefore, takes an intersectional approach to state violence at the hands of police by amplifying the voices of Black youth in Southern Alberta who have experienced both covert and overt forms of police violence. This approach challenges dominant narratives that suggest that only overt forms of state violence against Black people count as violence and suggests that police violence is a gendered phenomenon that impacts people differently depending on their location at the intersection of perceived (by police) and actual (self-identification of participants) gender, age, sexuality, economic status, religious beliefs, and race.

PREFACE

This project required Institutional Review Board ethics approval as such, I obtained two active institutional ethics approvals from the University of Alberta's (UofA) Health Research Ethics Board and the Lethbridge College Research Ethics Board before I began my data collection. I demonstrated to each board how I would ethically recruit participants for this study and the measures to protect their confidentiality and anonymity throughout (Christian, 2011). These boards also approved all measurement instruments, consent forms, and recruitment matters, which were added to the dissertation document as appendices A to I.

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Most importantly, I am grateful to my wife, Fatouma, and sons, Mustapha and Tijan. Your love and support got me through this program. This project would have been possible with your sacrifices for all these years. Finally, to the Queens and Kings of African descent who participated in this study and identified as Black in Canada, thank you for your courage in sharing your lived experiences with police violence in Southern Alberta. I asked a lot of you, and your stories became this dissertation.

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AHRC	Alberta Human Rights Commission
BLM	Black Lives Matter
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCC	Criminal Code of Canada
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CSC	Correctional Service Canada
CPS	Calgary Police Service
CRMM	Critical Race Mixed Methodology
CRT	Critical Race Theory
Crits	Critical Race Theorists
DWB	Driving While Black
FOIP	Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy
LPS	Lethbridge Police Service
MHPS	Medicine Hat Police Service
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
TPS	Toronto Police Service
U.K.	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
U.S.	United States

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND STUDY RATIONALE

1.0 Introduction

Canada became home for me in the early 2000s with its promise of peace, safety, and equal opportunities. I arrived here from Sierra Leone, West Africa, my country of birth, where, as a school pupil, I survived three rebel attacks in 1995, 1997 and 1999, during the country's civil war of more than ten years, in Kambia, Lungi, and Freetown, respectively. I am a Themnɛ, one of more than ten ethnic groups of Sierra Leone, identified as a Black man in Canada, with more than 20 years of Canadian direct field and academic experience in Children and Family Services and Correctional Services. I worked in various capacities, including as a Child and Youth Counsellor, Correctional and Senior Probation Officer and Criminal Justice Instructor in Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, and other cities in Southern Alberta over those years.

Most importantly, I am a father to Black male youth, being raised in a place where the literature suggests they are more likely to attract negative police attention due to racist ideologies that render them a threat to others' safety (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Owusu-Bempah, 2017). I mention these experiences and identities as a practice of reflexivity while also acknowledging the influence they have had on my worldview as a Black person in Canada (Hughes & Pennington, 2017). As a Black male researcher with a background in law enforcement and researching race and racism in Canada, I am a part of the phenomenon I am studying (Clandinin et al., 2016).

Canada and Sierra Leone share a history of British involvement in enslaving people of African descent and colonialism, including establishing Freetown, the capital City of Sierra Leone, as a resettlement place for the formerly enslaved (Walker, 1992). As such, an account of Black people's experiences of racism and violence within Western countries like Canada would be incomplete without acknowledging the long histories of slavery and colonialism that created these

countries. Afua Cooper (2007) has defined slavery as "the robbery of one's freedom and labour by another," often by a more powerful person. This practice was legal in Canada from 1628 to 1833 (Cooper, 2007, p. 70; Walker, 1992; Winks, 1997, 2014). Similarly, it is also necessary for me to define colonialism, which, according to Veracini's (2010) work, is a violent political and economic system wherein the primary interests of the invading colonists were to exploit and rob the invaded countries of their natural resources and human capital on behalf of an empire, like the British Empire, where they would eventually return. Sierra Leone was one of those Western African countries where the British invaded and violently subjected its people to colonial rule for over 100 years.

The first recorded enslaved person sold in Canada was a boy, known by his enslaved name as Olivier Le Jeune, in 1628 in New France, present-day Quebec (Winks, 1997, 2014). Like many, Olivier Le Jeune was robbed of his innocent childhood and transported directly to Canada from, most likely, the Island of Madagascar (Parks Canada Agency, 2022; Winks, 1997, 2014). As Winks (1997, 2014) has argued, Le Jeune was "the first of whom there is any adequate record" that slave traders have directly brought from Africa and sold into slavery in this country but was not the first person of African descent to have set foot in Canada (see pp. 1-2). However, historically, the substantial presence of people of African descent in Canada can be traced back to its role in the Underground Railroad, the arrivals of the Black loyalists and the Maroons of Jamaica in Ontario and Nova Scotia between the 1700s and 1800s (Cole, 2020; Diverlus et al., 2020; Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Shadd et al., 2022; Thornhill, 2008; Walker, 1992; Winks, 2014).

1.1. Black Loyalists: From Nova Scotia to Freetown

The Black loyalists arrived in Halifax in 1776-1783 to mark the first wave of arrivals of people of African descent in Canada (Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Walker, 1992). Among this group were over 3,000 people who had both escaped

slavery and who were already free from the U.S. and fought alongside the British Army during the American Revolution in exchange for their freedom and promise of lands in Nova Scotia that was never entirely fulfilled (Walker, 1992; Winks, 1997, 2014). Likewise, about 600 Jamaican Maroons' arrival in Nova Scotia in the 1790s and 1861-1865 marked the second and third periods of people of African descent's migration to Canada (Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Walker, 1992; Winks, 2014). The unwelcoming and racially discriminatory conditions experienced by the Black loyalists and the Maroons in Nova Scotia resulted in their relocation demands to Freetown, Sierra Leone. Accordingly, about 1,196 Black loyalists departed Nova Scotia on board 15 ships in January 1792 for Freetown, Sierra Leone, following their successful petition to the British government, led by Thomas Peters, for their return to Africa (Walker, 1992). The Maroons joined them in Freetown in the 1800s. Descendants of the Black loyalists and the Jamaica Maroons represent the Krio ethnic group, primarily found in Freetown.

The Black loyalists were again promised "grants of not less than 20 acres [of land] for a man, ten for his wife and five each child" upon arrival in Sierra Leone (Walker, 1992). However, the Sierra Leone Company, responsible for the settlement of the Black loyalists, who also referred to themselves as the Nova Scotians, did not negotiate the distribution of lands with the Themnɛ people, who settled in Freetown properly. Today, the Themnɛ people mainly occupy the Northern part of Sierra Leone. They were also among the people who were stolen and enslaved in the Americas and Europe. In their decision to parcel land to the Black loyalists, the Company's officials misconstrued the Themnɛ people's conception of land ownership, resulting in periods of unrest between their administrators and the people.

The customary perspective of the Themnɛ people concerning land ownership is that a guest (Ɔtik[1] or Ɔtera[2]) can lease land but cannot own it as private

[1] A male guest.
[2] A female guest.

property. A guest must also be introduced (Ah-kɔ-gbən-thi-ko-a-kanɛ) to the community by a Ləssarie[3] in the community, who then becomes their guarantor in the community. In the Themnɛ customary practice, the community would consider me a guest, given that I have been away from the community for an extended period, but conceptualize my status differently from a non-member. This conceptualization is Ɔtik E-do-ray, or Ɔtera E-do-ray, meaning a male or female guest that knows their way around the community. Ɔtik E-do-ray is also required to declare themselves in a gathering composed of close or extended family members or the community as a whole upon their return to the community. In other words, one must state one's intention to the community one is a part of but has been absent from for an extended period upon return.

This practice is known as gbən-thi-kanɛ (a form of declaration), where one informs the community what they have been up to since they were last in the community and their plans for the community. I had to gbən-thi-nɛ or declare myself to my father, a community Chief (Ɔbåy or ƆBai[4] in the Themnɛ), and siblings when I last visited Sierra Leone. In return, it is customary that the community or family gift the Ɔtik or Ɔtera E-do-ray as a sign of respect, welcome and acceptance back to the community. This practice is Kə-gbɛtər and can take various forms, including monetary, food items or livestock exchange. Acceptance of such gifting comes with the responsibility of hearing the people pleading their cases for assistance where you have the means to assist. This practice of telling all does have implications for the Western view of individual privacy that I have incorporated into my Canadian lifestyle. It also requires one to reveal one's intentions or plan for the community outrightly in dealings with others. The practice also reminds us that a guest is a guest and that they are a guest to someone in the community. Where a guest's actions go against the customary practices of the people, they, alongside their guarantor, are

[3] An Indigenous person.
[4] ƆBai is a leader and a dispute adjudicator in the community.

answerable to a Chief. Land lease transactions may not necessarily involve monetary exchange but can also involve an annual exchange of goods and services or access to education for the Themnɛ people. Similarly, in Canada, as Monchalin (2016) indicates, access to education was part of Indigenous Peoples' numbered treaty negotiations with the Canadian government.

As such, there appear to be similarities between the Indigenous Peoples of Canada and the Themnɛ people of Sierra Leone's conceptions of land ownership. With notable exceptions, Indigenous Peoples across Canada signed treaties with European settlers for peaceful co-existence on the land, an act of peace that the settlers largely misconstrued as relinquishing ownership of the lands to the British Crown (Monchalin, 2016). Similarly, from a pre-colonial customary perspective, lands were not an individual possession to be sold and owned as property for the Themnɛ people. Instead, lands were to be maintained for generations, a practice rapidly disappearing today as a legacy of colonialism. The history (Tåkur) of Sierra Leone and stories (Mump) from our Themnɛ elders tell us that the Themnɛ people had stood up against the British colonial powers who misconstrued their agreement over their lands and desire to be independent. This resistance also includes the Themnɛ people, led by Bai Bureh, a Themnɛ warrior, who refused to pay a Hut Tax to the colonial administration imposed on the people. Taxation was against the customary practice of the Themnɛ people. In addition to other colonial provocative policies that undermined the governing authorities of the Themnɛ Chiefs in 1896, the Themnɛ people's refusal to pay the Hut Tax resulted in a deadly war between them and the British colonial administration: hence, the Hut Tax War of 1889(Abraham, 1974; Stock, 2014). For the Themnɛ people, stories can be entertaining and educational, from moral education to the history of a family, community, or country. They are connected to the land and educate youth about their history and culture. This history was a part of my secondary school education curriculum in Sierra Leone but is not represented systematically across Canadian high school curricula. Sierra Leone

gained Independence from the British Crown in 1961, marking the official end of British colonial suppression and domination, unlike Canada, which remains a settler colonial state.

According to Veracini (2010), the colonists' intent to return to a mother country is a key differentiating factor between classic colonialism defined above and settler colonialism, that defines current social practices, institutional cultural and governance structures in countries like the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Drawing on Wolfe's (2006) and Veracini's (2010) works, I defined settler colonialism as a land-centred project intended to destroy any appearance of equal power relationship in the settler state, with an ongoing goal of eliminating Indigenous societies. For Wolfe (2006), the settler colonial project destroys to replace societies. As Hodes (2023) argues, this replacement process is often through murder and various forms of assimilation. As a result, according to Wolfe's perspective, settler colonialism is a genocidal project. Hodes further identifies the fundamental denial of necessities of life, including access to safe drinking water in Indigenous communities and the ongoing removal of Indigenous children from their communities "through contemporary child apprehension policies" as part of the destructive tactics of settler colonialism that persist in Canada today (p. 39).

For instance, 54 percent of children under 14 in foster care in Canada were Indigenous in 2021(Indigenous Service Canada, 2023). Black children are also disproportionately represented in Ontario's child welfare system due to stereotypical policies that paint Black Canadian parents as unfit to justify the forceful removal of their children from their care (Maynard, 2017). Removing Indigenous and Black children from their communities exposes them to various forms of abuse and deprives them of the ability to learn about their cultures and ways of their people (Maynard, 2017; Monchalin, 2016). This deprivation and exposure to violence has been and continues to be, the consequence of slavery and (settler) colonialism for Black and racialized Canadians and Indigenous

Peoples in Canada. Thus, legacies of slavery and colonialism continue to impact Africans' quality of life within Africa due to ongoing civil wars and political unrest and beyond Africa in their attempt to seek asylum. For example, a survey of a compilation of articles and publications produced by the United Nations, marking the International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024) shows that people of African descent experience violence based on their skin colour across the globe, including in Europe, Asia, and North and South Americas (The United Nations, 2015).

During the summer of 2020, two events invigorated anti-racist social movements in Canada and the United States (U.S.) by bringing global attention to violence against people of colour at the hands of police. Derek Chauvin, former police officer, convicted of the lynching-style murder of George Floyd in the U.S. and Regis Korchinski-Paquet falling to her death from her family's 24th-floor apartment balcony in Toronto, Ontario, Canada, when police were called to check on her mental health (Waldron, 2021). Lynching was historically a white supremacist vigilante practice of public execution that involved hanging Black accused persons from trees. This practice was common in the Southern U.S. to uphold white supremacy through terror and extrajudicial killing (see Davis, 2005, p. 38). Using Charles Mills' (1997) and bell hooks' (2008; 2013) works, I have defined white supremacy as a political ideology that promotes and perpetuates racial discrimination and racist violence.

As such, white supremacy in this project also refers to the ascription of superiority to whiteness as a system that maintains whiteness as a normative referent against which all others are judged. This includes a range of things from gendered behaviour to beauty standards, including hair texture or style to skin colour and body shape and size (hooks, 2013). According to Crenshaw (1988) and hooks (2008; 2013), white supremacy is also the glue that connects White people irrespective of class differences. Specifically, hooks (2013) asserts, "bonding on the basis of shared whiteness provides the foundation for a sense

of shared meaning, values, and purpose" for White people in society (p. 4). Thus, lynching as a white supremacist practice can be seen as an act of deterrence directed toward Black people[5] as a reminder of their inferior racial standing in post-plantation slavery in the U.S. and post-de jure slavery in Canada.

Central to slavery and colonialism is the institutionalization of race and racism, signified by skin colour and other indicators of racial hierarchy. Race is, therefore, a social construct that categorizes others into superior (White) or lesser (non-White) racial categories based on their skin colour, body hair or facial features (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Hall, 1997; Todorov, 2004). Although race has no biological underpinning, this categorization produces actual, often negative consequences for people of African descent, generally identified as Blacks and perceived as inferior to White people, amounting to racism in Western societies (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Mills, 1997; Todorov, 2004). Hence, Audre Lorde (1995) defined racism as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance" (p. 533). In other words, as Todorov (2004) argues, racism is a matter of behaviour and an ideology. Racism as a behaviour, Todorov contends, can manifest in racial violence towards others one may perceive to be inferior or sub-person, including state-sanctioned race-motivated murders by state-sanctioned personnel, as in the case of George Floyd.

Canadian scholars and activists of African descent and their allies have also acknowledged the continued differential treatment of those identified as Black in contemporary Canadian society, often through their interactions with state officials, from police and schools to child welfare, challenging Canada's perceived international image as a human rights defending and welcoming

[5] I reluctantly use Black people to refer to all those with African ancestry and identify as such because they did not identify as Blacks before colonialization. For example, a person from present-day Sierra Leone would first identify with their family surname (Turay or Kamara, etc.), followed by one's ethnic group: Themnɛ, Mende, Limba, or Krio, amongst other ethnicities.

multicultural society (Cole, 2020; Foster et al., 2023; Hodes, 2023; Maynard, 2017; Nath, 2021; Rankin et al., 2002; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Walcott, 2021; Wortley, 1996; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009, 2011, 2022; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). While Canadian studies on anti-Black racism and academic work on racism in general has also come from Alberta(Bucerius et al., 2022; Da Costa & Mohamed, 2022; Nath, 2021; Oriola, 2022, 2023; Özcan, 2023; Turay, 2023), most of the literature on this subject, especially Black people's experiences from their interactions with police, has come from Ontario(Maynard, 2017; Rankin, 2010; Rankin et al., 2002; Samuels-Wortley, 2021, 2022; Tator & Henry, 2006; Wortley, 1996; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009, 2011, 2011; Wortley & Tanner, 2003).

This project explores the experiences of self-identified Black youth through their interactions with police in Southern Alberta, encompassing Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat, making it a unique scholarly contribution to the slow but growing Canadian literature of Black Canadians' interactions with police. There are significant differences in how youth are defined by various governmental and international agencies (The United Nations) in both the U.S. and Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019; The United Nations, 2007). For instance, Statistics Canada has described youth as individuals between the ages of 15 and 34 in 2016 and 15-29 in 2019 (Statistics Canada, 2019). Hence, for this project, I created a median age range for the category of youth that includes individuals between the ages of 16 and 30. The remainder of this chapter briefly contextualizes the study with regard to current political and activist movements and gaps in the academic literature. I also introduce the project's objectives, research questions, and limitations, in addition to providing an outline of my overarching arguments. I conclude this chapter with an overview of this dissertation.

1.2. The Context of the Study

1.2.1 Alberta

Alberta became a province officially in 1905; however, the presence of Black people in this province dates back to the late 1800s and early 1900s (Kelly, 2022; Provincial Archives of Alberta, 2023). As seen in newspaper publications in the early 1900s, Alberta is not always welcoming to black bodies. For instance, in 1911, the Government of Canada passed an Order-in-Council to suspend the immigration of Black people in Canada for a year in response to the public's outcries of Black people moving to Alberta from the U.S. (Bailey & Este, 2018). Politically, one can describe this province as a predominantly Conservative law and order-oriented province in the Canadian Prairies (Black, 2023). This province is also home to former Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper, whose tough-on-crime policies corresponded to a noticeable increase in the incarceration rate of people of African descent behind Indigenous Peoples, especially between 2006 and 2013 in Canada (Mallea, 2010; Sapers, 2013). Systemic racism is the structural violence that Black Canadians experience across various societal institutions, from education and healthcare to the criminal justice system (Government of Canada, 2023, 2022; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021). In Alberta, this has translated into proposed bans on teaching Critical Race Theory (CRT) in schools, though unsuccessful yet, and the reinvention of the K-4 school curriculum to exclude essential discussions about diversity, equity, and privilege (Hodes, 2023). CRT examines how race, law, power, and society intersect in shaping racialized persons' experiences in contemporary Western societies (K. Crenshaw, 1989, 2023; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). One of this theory's propositions is that racism is a daily experience for people of colour, including Black people, in a country like Canada (K. W. Crenshaw, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

With its history of limiting the immigration of Black people to this province, like Canada as a whole (Foggo, 2020; Kelly, 2022; Razack, 2000), Alberta is also a province where high-ranking politicians consider others' past and ongoing daily experiences with discrimination, including racial discrimination, to be less severe compared to those who chose not to be vaccinated against the COVID-19 virus (for political reasons) during the height of the worldwide pandemic (Global News, 2022). This denial of the significance of the negative impacts of racial prejudice on racialized persons in this province demonstrates a consequence of not deliberately teaching history (of slavery, colonialism, and settler colonialism) beyond Euro-centric perspectives in our educational systems in this province. I would argue that this constitutes a form of censorship that excludes the views of Indigenous Peoples, Black and other racialized Canadian scholars to uphold white supremacy and erase the ongoing impacts of slavery and settler colonialism in Canada.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) began tracking the deadly outcomes resulting from Canadians' interactions with police, paying close attention to the role of race and mental health in those deaths in 2000(Marcoux, 2018; Singh, 2020). Similarly, three Universities in Ontario (Carleton, Queen's, and the University of Toronto) and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association launched a second Canadian database, 'Tracking (In)Justice,' in 2022 to document police-involved deaths in this country. Findings from both databases show that Black and Indigenous Peoples tend to be overrepresented as victims of deadly police use of force in Canada between 2000 and 2022, the most common of which is through firearms (Marcoux, 2018; Singh, 2020; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). Indigenous Peoples represented 16.2 percent of these victims between 2000-2021, while they accounted for 5.1 percent of Canada's population (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). Likewise, eight percent of the victims of police deadly force in Canada between 2000-2021 were Black people, while they represented 3.8 of the Canadian population within that period (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023).

Police shooting-related deaths accounted for 73 percent (N=746) of all police-involved use of force in Canada between 2000 and 2022(Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). Alberta accounted for 17 percent of all police shooting-related deaths between 2000 and 2022, the second highest in Canada behind Ontario (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023).

1.2.2. Calgary

Calgary is in Southern Alberta and home to four provincial custodial facilities, including two adult and one youth (ages 12 to 17) correctional centres and a forensic psychiatry centre. I spent a decade of my career in corrections in Calgary, working with youth and adults involved in the criminal justice system and their families within those institutions and community corrections. However, my career in corrections began in Edmonton, starting with working at the old Edmonton Remand Centre and Edmonton Young Offender Centre between 2004 and 2005. Calgary is one of the cities where Black families from the U.S. settled in the early 1900s and experienced racism, discrimination, racialization, and social exclusion as their counterparts in Nova Scotia, as Foggo's (2020) and Kelly's (2022) works revealed. For instance, historical records show Black people were subjected to segregated seating in theatres in Calgary (the 1914 case of Charles Daniels) and attempts to restrict them from moving into predominantly White residential areas in Calgary in the 1920s(Kelly, 2022).

According to a recent Statistic Canada (2023) census release, Calgary represented about 31 percent or 1,306,784 of Alberta's population in 2021, making it the largest city, population-wise, in Alberta. Calgary is also diverse, with visible minorities accounting for 41.4 percent of the city's population in 2021. The term "visible minority" replaces previous terms like racialized population or racialized groups used as a category for persons who are non-Indigenous and non-White in census reporting in Canada (Statistics Canada,

2023). Black people accounted for 5.4 percent (or 70,680) of Calgary's visible minority population in 2021(Statistics Canada, 2023). Calgary's diversity appears to be changing the city's municipal and provincial political landscape, from the election of Naheed Nenshi as the first visible minority Muslim mayor in Canada to the almost 50-50 split in votes between the United Conservative Party (UCP) and the New Democratic Party (NDP) in the recently concluded provincial election (Black, 2023). Yet, there is still work to do regarding racial tolerance in that city.

In recent years, Black Calgarians have raised concerns about Calgary Police Service members subjecting them to racial profiling in that city, especially in 2015 and 2016(Turay, 2023). The Alberta Human Rights Commission (AHRC) (2021) defined racial profiling as an individual's subjection to differential treatment or greater scrutiny because of negative stereotypes related to their race or skin colour, ancestry or place of origin, religious affiliations, gender, or sexual orientation. The criminal justice system is one of the institutions wherein the stereotypical characterization of Black people, especially Black youth, as troublemakers, thugs, gang members, drug dealers, and people who are generally prone to criminality has often served to justify their continued surveillance, capture, and confinement (Alexander, 2012; Maynard, 2017, 2020; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021). We can also see evidence of their differential treatment in their disproportionate representation in incidences of police racial profiling, excessive use of force, and their overrepresentation among inmate populations in both U.S. and Canadian prison systems, often the results of the racialized enforcement of the war on drugs or tough-on-crime related policies in both countries (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; Durán & Loza, 2017; Kahn et al., 2017; Maynard, 2017; Özcan, 2023; Pedicelli, 1998; Roberts & Doob, 1997; Sapers, 2013; Singh et al., 2020; Toronto Police Service, 2022; Turay, 2023; Wortley et al., 2020; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011, 2022; Wortley & Tanner, 2003).

To date, the deaths of four Black Canadians between 2000 and 2022 could be associated with their interactions with Calgary Police Service (CPS) members, including the recent death of Latjor Tuel following his brief encounter with CPS members on February 19, 2022(de Castillo, 2022; Marcoux, 2018; Singh, 2020; Small, 2022; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). Five years before this deadly encounter, another CPS member was seen on video footage, presented as evidence in a Calgary courtroom, slamming Dalia Kafi, a Black woman, onto the pavement, face down while handcuffed, at CPS' arrest processing unit in December of 2017(Freeman, 2020; Gilligan, 2021). Ms. Kafi has since died of drug poisoning, and it was noted in her victim impact statement that she suffered mental health consequences due to her treatment by police (Small, 2021). Before this incident, Godfred Addai-Nyamekye, a Black Calgarian man, also had a violent encounter with a CPS member on December 28, 2013(CBC Docs, 2020; Oriola, 2022). Incidences of other forms of police violence have also been reported in Southern Alberta, south of Calgary.

1.2.3. Lethbridge

Lethbridge is less diverse than Calgary, with visible minorities representing 16.2 percent of its 96,275 population, making it the fourth largest city in Alberta based on population size in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2023). Lethbridge is also located in Southern Alberta, about 213 kilometres south of Calgary and 107 kilometres from one of the many border crossings between the U.S. and Canada. In the documentary "John Ware Reclaimed," Cheryl Foggo (2020) explored the little-known or distorted history of a Black Cowboy, John Ware, who settled in Southern Alberta (including Calgary, Millarville, and Duchess, North of Brooks) before the turn of the 20th Century. In 2021, 3,105 (3 percent) people in Lethbridge identified as being of African descent (Statistics Canada, 2023).

In 2016, Defence lawyer Miranda Hlady's analysis of the Lethbridge Police Service street checks data revealed that Black and Indigenous Peoples are generally the targets of racial profiling in Lethbridge (Hodes & Bonifacio, 2022; Labby, 2017). While no person of African descent has died from their encounters with police in Lethbridge, analysis of the CBC database of deadly police use of force shows that the two people who died from their interactions with Lethbridge Police Service members in 2001 and 2012 were non-White (Singh, 2020). Most participants in this study, whose stories of their encounters with police I present in chapter four of this dissertation, including those interviewed, were from Calgary and Lethbridge. These include one description of police aiming a gun at a Black youth on their way to school in Calgary.

1.2.4. Medicine Hat

In 2021, Medicine Hat had a population of 61,830 people, and 1.5 percent (or 955) of those were people of African descent (Statistics Canada, 2023). Visible minorities comprised 9 percent of the Medicine Hat population in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2023). Thus, Medicine Hat is the least diverse for the cities of interest in this project. However, the presence of Black people in Medicine Hat goes back to the 1800s, when Mary "Molly" Smith is believed to be the first Black woman to have arrived from the U.S. and settled in Medicine Hat around that period(King, 2022; Rauchert, 2017). Medicine Hat is 167 kilometres from Lethbridge and 294 kilometres from Calgary. Medicine Hat Police Service (MHPS) was also implicated in the incidents of racial profiling reported in Southern Alberta (Turay, 2023). Findings from the analysis of the Tracking (In)Justice database revealed that two persons whose racial identities are unknown died from their encounters with MHPS members in 2014 and 2023, respectively (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). These brief city profiles bring me to Brooks, the city with the most concentrated population of African descent in the entire province of Alberta.

1.2.5. Brooks

Brooks has the smallest population (14,440 residents in 2021) of the cities this study focuses on, located about 190 kilometres from Calgary and around 155 kilometres from Lethbridge (Statistics Canada, 2023). Nonetheless, this city holds the highest percentage of Black people in Alberta. Black people accounted for 22.3 percent (or 3,270) of the Brooks population in 2021(Statistics Canada, 2023). The meat-packing plant in Brooks likely attracts immigrants and refugees from African countries to the city, resulting in their higher representation in the city's population (Issa & Chiwetelu, 2022). Foggo's work in 2020 has shown that one of Alberta's early Black Cowboy, rancher, and perhaps, one of the pioneers of the Calgary Stampede, John Ware, settled in Duchess north of Brooks in the late 1880s with his family. John Ware died in the Brooks area in 1905, the same year Alberta officially became a province (Foggo, 2020; Provincial Archives of Alberta, 2023). As such, Black people's presence in Brooks and Southern Alberta, in general, is not a recent event but a presence that has historical roots well into the 1800s(Foggo, 2020; Issa & Chiwetelu, 2022; Kelly, 2022).

Unlike Calgary, Lethbridge, and Medicine Hat, Brooks has no standalone police service. Municipal policing in Alberta for municipalities like Brooks without a standalone police service is contracted to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) through an agreement between the province, city and the federal government (Government of Alberta, 2023). The RCMP, then known as the North-West Mounted Police, is a paramilitary national police service established in 1873 in Canada (Özcan, 2023). To my knowledge, while there is no established knowledge in the literature of the experiences of Brooks residents outlining their encounters with members of the RCMP in that city and surroundings, it is essential to note the Canadian public, including Indigenous and racialized persons, have had adverse outcomes from their interactions with the RCMP, historically and in the present(Comack, 2012; Monchalin, 2016; Özcan, 2023).

Analysis of the 'Tracking (In) justice database shows that nationally, the RCMP accounted for about 29 percent (N=746) of Canadian deaths from their interactions with police between 2000 and 2023(Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). In Alberta, 130 Canadians have died from their encounters with police(Singh, 2020; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). The RCMP accounted for about 41 percent of those deadly encounters between 2000 and 2023: about 8 percent of those victims were Whites, 11 percent Indigenous, and the racial identities of 22 percent of the victims were unknown (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). These provincial and city profiles and the experiences of Black people within these entities contextualize this study as a Counter-Narrative that has not always been a part of the Canadian public consciousness. It does not fit the narrative that Canada has always been a welcoming nation to all.

Today, Black Canadians represent a diverse group that includes people representing over 200 ethnic or cultural origins from about 125 countries (Statistics Canada, 2019). Some have come to this country through various immigration programs, from permanent residents and expatriates to asylum seekers (Statistics Canada, 2019). Others can identify with more than one ethnicity or racial categorization. Therefore, not all Black people have come to Canada through slavery and dispossession. Most importantly, others can trace their ancestral roots to this country even before the Canadian Confederation in 1867, as I have previously established. Nonetheless, to some Canadians, Black people are all the same. This perceived homogeneity of Black Canadians is also often reflected in their treatment when engaging with various Canadian institutions, including the Canadian criminal justice system.

1.3. Research Problem and Gap in the Literature

The literature has shown that, in general, most Canadians' knowledge of the violent interactions of Black people and, by extension, Black youth with police, tends to be derived largely from the U.S. and Ontario and focuses almost

exclusively on the experiences of cis-gendered Black men (Brunson & Miller, 2006; K. Crenshaw, 1989; Durán & Loza, 2017; Henry et al., 1996; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; Wortley et al., 2020; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). As a result, the existing research is inadequate in accounting for the experience of Black women, and non-binary and trans identified Black people in Alberta more broadly. This project was designed to address this gap by inviting Black youth of all genders and sexual orientations in Southern Alberta to share their experiences with police in the past four years of this study (2019-2023).

However, while gathering Black youth's experiences from their interactions with sworn municipal police[6] members in Alberta is a primary objective of this project, I faced some significant challenges recruiting as diverse a group of research participants as I would have liked. Participation in this study was voluntary and self-referred. I secured the assistance of Black community leaders to distribute the project's recruitment posters to their members. However, I gathered some youth leaders, particularly in Calgary and Lethbridge, were hesitant to share my call for participants with their patrons for fear of the youth's safety. Understandably, my recruitment campaign was primarily via distance, with limited opportunities to travel outside of Lethbridge to personally connect with Black community leaders in Brooks and Medicine Hat to aid my campaign for recruiting participants.

Additionally, an internet or LinkedIn search of my name would reveal my work history as a former correctional and probation officer in Alberta. This result might have made potential participants wary about their safety and avoid participating, especially in the interview component of the study, where they could not maintain their anonymity, unlike participating in the online survey. I will discuss this further in the methods chapter of the thesis. As such, this project adds a Southern Alberta perspective to the small but growing Canadian

[6] Black youth's interactions with police may include encounters with federal, provincial, and municipal police officers, Bylaw enforcement officers and/or security personnel.

literature on Black youth's experiences with police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks and Medicine Hat in their own voices, but it is not without its limitations. It is, therefore, my hope that this will open the door to future studies that will attract greater gender diversity than was possible here.

1.3.1. Research Aims

Findings from this project aim to highlight the experiences of Black youth and amplify their voices. This endeavour contributes to a greater understanding of the impacts of police practices on Black youth's sense of belonging in Alberta, in cities, and in Canada more broadly, in addition to signalling some of the costs to their emotional or psychological well-being in the post-George Floyd era. The literature continues to show that police practices, from racial profiling to lethal police force directed toward Black people, negatively impact the mental health of all in these communities (J. DeVylder et al., 2020; J. E. DeVylder et al., 2018; English et al., 2017; George Washinton University, 2020; Waldron, 2021; English et al., 2017; Sanden & Wentz, 2017; Waldron, 2021). For example, English et al.'s (2017) mixed-methods study from the U.S. explores how police mistreatment of Black men has psychological outcomes. The study reveals that participants who reported higher symptoms of depression also reported higher negative experiences with police in the past five years (English et al., 2017). Paradoxically, most Canadians who died from their encounters with police, including here in Alberta, were experiencing mental health symptoms both prior to and as a result of previous interactions with police (Marcoux, 2018; Pedersen, 2022; Singh et al., 2020).

1.3.2. Research Objectives

I had four objectives when I started this project. First, I wanted to examine whether Black youth experience differential treatment when interacting with police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat from their perspectives. Second, I was interested in investigating whether gender,

geographic location, age, and clothing style influenced their interactions with police. Third, I aimed to appraise how similar or different this treatment is from other cities. And finally, I wanted to query how these experiences shaped their sense of belonging in their community, city, province, and Canada. As a result, I created the following research questions out of which I developed a set of hypotheses.

1.3.3. Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. To what extent do Black youth's interactions and experiences with police influence their sense of citizenship and belonging in the Canadian nation-state?
2. To what extent does a Black youth's place of residence or the semblance of being out of one's space or community influence Black youth's interactions with police?
3. To what extent do Black youth in Southern Alberta experience encounters with police differently from those in Ontario and larger U.S. cities?
4. Does gender influence Black youth's interactions and experiences with police?

From these questions, my first hypothesis was that there would be a relationship between knowing someone who has been a victim and being a victim of police violence and that there would also be a relationship between racial profiling, Black youth's perceptions of police, and their sense of citizenship and belonging to the Canadian nation-state. Secondly, I hypothesized that there would also be a relationship between geographical location, neighbourhood, gender, age, style, or type of dressing, and Black youth's frequency of contact with police. And thirdly, that the interactions and experiences of Black youth with police in Southern Alberta would be distinct from those of other Black youth in other Canadian jurisdictions or larger U.S. cities.

1.4. Study's Significance

I arrived at these hypotheses because the current literature shows that police practices that often appear to target racialized persons have a profound and negative impact on Black youth. They negatively influence their sense of belonging in Canada and their emotional and mental well-being (Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021; Waldron, 2021). This dissertation, therefore, contributes to this

body of knowledge by amplifying the voices of Black youth in Southern Alberta and analyzing their interactions with police in a way that aims first to validate their experiences and then to show the importance of geographic specificity. Additionally, the project will open up new areas of study on citizens' experiences with police in Alberta to inform transformative approaches to policing in settler colonial states like Canada and beyond.

Canada's criminal justice system has been called a 'revolving door' (Department of Justice, 2018). Once youth are forced into it, it can be complicated to keep them out. The police are the gate to this system; therefore, it is essential to explore the interactions of police with Black youth from the perspectives of these youth. My project is timely and necessary following the worldwide Black Lives Matter protests in response to Black people's ongoing experiences with anti-Black police violence that took place after the murder of George Floyd in 2020, including the recent shooting death of a South Sudanese man in Calgary at the hands of police in 2022 and other violent encounters between police and Black youth in Calgary before that.

1.5. Limitations

As with all studies, this one is limited in scope, methodology, resource, generalizability, and other situational factors, which I will elaborate on in detail in the methods chapter (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; McKim, 2017; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Thaler, 2017). Nonetheless, it suffices to say that this project is the beginning of an ongoing scholarly research program to which I will contribute over my academic career. The study was limited to exploring the experiences of self-identifying Black youth between the ages of 16 and 30 in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat. The study's findings are therefore limited to the views and perspectives of the participants in the study, who are generally in High School or College or who are University students with access to social media, and Instagram in particular.

1.6. An Overview of the Dissertation

I structured this dissertation into seven chapters, including the introductory chapter. I have also identified the research objectives and questions and briefly discussed the value and limitations of the study. Chapter Two reviews the existing literature to identify critical areas that have formed the foundation of my research. In Chapter Three, I discuss the methods and theoretical framework, justify using a critical race mixed methodology as my approach, and discuss the project's limitations. Chapters four and five encompass the findings of this project, wherein chapter four contains Black youth's accounts of police harassment, intimidation, aggression and disrespect, and chapter five provides further analyses of the data. I explore and identify the significance of the data in Chapter Six. I conclude the dissertation in Chapter Seven by reflecting on the findings and my role in corrections as a Black man. The conclusion also discusses directions for future research and policy recommendations.

1.7. Concluding Remarks

In this introduction, I have briefly discussed the context of this project and the gap in the literature that the project is attempting to fill. The chapter also introduces readers to the project’s aims, objectives, and research questions. The demand for racial justice following the murder of George Floyd in the U.S. makes this project timely; however, the study is limited in scope, methodology, resources, and generalizability. In the next chapter, I review the literature that helps further contextualize the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This literature review situates my study in the existing literature addressing Black people's interactions with police in Canada and beyond. I have organized this Chapter into four main themes. The first theme briefly examines the history of policing Black people in the U.S. and Canada through the lens of Critical Race Theorists (Crits). Theme two contextualizes the present-day interactions of Black People with police as pedestrians or motorists, primarily in the U.S. and Canada. This theme also highlights the influence of gender in how policing is experienced and the debate around whether Black youth's frequent interactions with police result from their criminality or racialized police practices. In theme three, I survey the literature for the negative impacts of police interactions with Black people. And finally, theme four addresses the methodological and contextual gaps in the current literature. Together, these themes help accentuate the range of Black people's involuntary encounters with police, particularly Black youth, pointing to the consequences of being identified as Black in a white supremacist society.

2.1. A Brief History of Policing Black People

Europeans' colonial classifications of people of African descent as lesser humans with barbaric and animalistic tendencies is a cultural understanding of blackness that police rely on in their encounters with Black persons (Hall, 1997; 2002; Loomba, 2015; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021). Studies have shown that Black suspects are often perceived as more likely to be violent than White suspects. They are construed as threats that need to be neutralized earlier on during encounters with police (Durán & Loza, 2017; Kahn & Martin, 2016; Pedicelli, 1998; Wortley et al., 2020). The past and recent horrifying violent murder of George Floyd that sparked a worldwide protest in 2020 has renewed interest in the production and promotion of media content (including The History

of Africa (2017), Enslaved (2020), and BLK: Original Story (2022)) centred on illuminating the threat and reality of physical brutality as an essential technique that has justified quests for land and enslaved people as part of all forms of colonial projects from Africa to the Americas(Badawi, 2017; Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Jackson, 2020).

In the documentary 'The History of Africa,' Sudan-born executive producer Zeinab Badawi explores the history of Africa from its known origin, slavery, resistance, and liberation, to the present as narrated by African historians and leaders across the continent (Badawi, 2017; UNESCO, 2017). This series was based on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) General History of Africa book collection in which African historians and people tell the continent's history and its peoples from their perspectives in the 1960s (Badawi, 2017; UNESCO, 2017). This includes the brutality exerted on the people of Africa during the colonialization and the continued exploitation of Africans within and outside the continent of Africa today.

Badawi's (2017) series reveals that the colonial project evolved in three stages, starting with the European military securing lands and territories through often merciless force to dominate and destroy Kingdoms and Empires in Africa. The second stage involved the arrival of White settlers and, in some cases, establishing administration to facilitate the exploitation of the occupied lands (Badawi, 2017). The third stage involved instituting a system of governance body (including imposed laws and their enforcement) to ensure settlers' safety and the continued suppression of the Indigenous in their subjugated lands (Badawi, 2017).

Veracini's (2010) work has shown that the exploitation of land for the benefit of a mother nation was a primary objective of colonialism, unlike settler colonialism, where colonists intended to stay in their occupied countries (Veracini, 2010, pp. 3-5). Canada is one example of a country in the Americas where British and French settlers have stayed since they arrived on the

continent. To invade, seize and dominate people in their country or territory cannot be achieved by the mere threat of violence but by the actual deployment of violence, physical or otherwise. For example, the Themnɛ people's resistance to colonial exploitative policies meant violent deaths, the result of which is, for instance, the Themnɛ people's inability to ascertain the total number of people killed during the Hut Tax War. As such, understanding the utility of violence as a colonial strategy of domination is foundational to contextualizing the continuous subjection of Black and Indigenous Peoples to racialized violence in white-dominant societies like Canada today.

According to Comack (2012), Crenshaw (2020), Emsley (1999), Pedicelli (1998), Özcan (2023), and Warde (2013), policing was developed as a means of population control. Those deemed troublesome, or troublemakers were seen as threatening to commercial and capital accumulation projects designed to enrich social elites. Slavery and colonialization are just two examples of many wealth accumulation projects that have exploited, oppressed and criminalized Black and Indigenous Peoples who have attempted to break free from these systems of exploitation and oppression (Card, 2020; Comack, 2012; K. W. Crenshaw, 2020; Davis, 2003; Wacquant, 2001; Walcott, 2021). In the context of Sierra Leone for instance, British colonial authorities sent the colonial police to collect the hut tax after the Themnɛ people challenged their self-imposed power to collect taxes from them in their homelands (Abraham, 1974). In the Americas, scholars have identified slave patrols as the antecedent to modern-day policing of Black people in the U.S.(K. W. Crenshaw, 2020; Walcott, 2021; Warde, 2013; Websdale, 2001). The first slave ship containing stolen Africans from their homeland docked in Jamestown, Virginia, in the U.S. in 1619 (Shadd et al., 2022), marking the beginning of a period of terror for people of African descent in the Americas for the next 245 years and more of plantation slavery in the U.S. (Wacquant, 2001). Slave patrollers were groups of men delegated with enforcing slave codes,

suppressing slave resistance, insurrection and preventing their escape (Warde, 2013; Websdale, 2001).

In 1808, the British Parliament passed an act, namely the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act (also known as the Slave Trade Act), to end the transatlantic slave trade (Rodriguez, 2007). Before the passing of this Act, British abolitionists such as Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce, amongst others, had been lobbying for the British Parliament to enact this kind of measure as early as the mid-1700s with little success(Rodriguez, 2007). The Slave Trade Act made the transatlantic slave trade illegal. However, the Act did not end slavery in North America, nor did it stop the kidnapping and selling of Africans into slavery across the Atlantic.

As Rodriguez (2007) states, the abolitionists hoped the passage of the Act would improve the treatment of enslaved Africans and eventually end slavery in the Americas, as enslavers would not expect more kidnapped persons from Africa. It appears these anticipated effects did not materialize. For instance, the passage of the Slave Trade Act may have increased the vulnerability of enslaved African women to sexual abuse at the hands of their White enslavers (Cooper, 2007; Crenshaw, 1989; Donovan, 2014; Maynard, 2017). The raping of enslaved African women became a strategy to increase the enslaved population in the plantations in the Americas without having to rely on the transatlantic transportation of people from the African continent (Donovan, 2014; Hartman, 1997; Maynard, 2017). Donovan's (2014) work has shown that Europeans fathered many children of mixed race in the French West Indies in the 1830s and 1840s from their sexual abuse of enslaved African women. Indeed, as Maynard (2017) has argued, "Black women's wombs were not safe from the reach of their white masters" (p. 22). The rigidity of the racial order made it so that these mixed-race children were born into slavery and became enslaved themselves, even though their fathers were Whites (Maynard, 2017). This is the source of contemporary stereotypical beliefs about Black women as sexually promiscuous as enslavers

would create these kinds of narratives to justify raping Black women (Cooper, 2007; Crenshaw, 1989; Donovan, 2014; Hartman, 1997; Maynard, 2017). Crenshaw points out we live in a rape culture where victims of sexual violence are not only blamed for their victimization, but their credibility is also questioned (Savage, 2016). The passing of the Slave Trade Act to end the Transatlantic slave trade also brought a need for a place to resettle Africans that the British Royal Navy freed from illegal slave ships they intercepted in the Atlantic (BBC, 2011; Rodriguez, 2007). Hence, against the wishes of the country's Indigenous Peoples, the British Parliament declared Sierra Leone a British Crown Colony in 1808 to meet this need.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, became a settlement for the formerly enslaved, who wished to return to Africa, including those liberated from illegal slave ships (BBC, 2011). Under the British colonial policy of indirect colonial rule in Sierra Leone, the vast majority of the people of Sierra Leone, beyond Freetown, were to govern themselves based on their customary systems of governance (Mamdani, 1996) that had been in place before European contact. Of course, the British colonial administrators did not respect that arrangement. From the colonialists' perspectives, a Themnɛ King, the British had named King Tom, had ceded the land to the British in 1787(Walker, 1992).

The perceived name of the Themnɛ King is an indication of the misunderstanding of Themnɛ naming practices on the part of invading British colonialists. The name Tom does not follow the naming conventions of the Themnɛ people, who generally follow Islamic naming conventions, like Ibrahim, Mohamed, Mustapha, and Abdul, to name a few. In the Themnɛ language, tɔm means to chew, and when one adds the suffix nɛ to tɔm, it becomes tɔmnɛ, which means mumbling or kàtɔmnɛ, to mumble in this context. When one speaks English rapidly, it may sound like one is mumbling, particularly to a person with limited exposure to the language, let alone meeting and interacting with an English speaker for the first time. As such, perhaps, the Themnɛ King's expression of frustration in

their language, understanding what may have sounded like mumbling, was perceived to be him stating his name as King Tom. Tales of what is lost in translation in contact between the Themnɛ people and Europeans, dating back to the 1400s, are abundant among the people. However, addressing this Themnɛ leader as King meant that Kinship was a part of the political or governance structure of the Themnɛ people, as it was in other parts of Africa that the British colonialists destroyed due to the perception that there could be only one King in the British Empire, the King of England. If settler colonialism destroys to replace, as Wolfe (2006) has argued, colonialism in Africa was an exploitative and destructive project intending to replace governance institutions in order to further the colonial project through the creation of police, courts, prisons, and the imposition of military rule (Veracini, 2010)

Not only did their naming practices reveal a lack of British colonial understanding but the assumptions regarding land ownership also went against the customary practices of the Themnɛ people, as indicated in the previous chapter. Therefore, it is possible that the British had misunderstood or misinterpreted their agreement with King Tom, who may have agreed to lease the lands to secure protection on behalf of the Themnɛ people in the area without surrendering the land to the British. As also previously noted, a guest can lease but not own land in the customary practices of the Themnɛ people, providing evidence of misconstrued agreements between European settlers and Indigenous Peoples that are also ever present in the Canadian context regarding land use and ownership. This is particularly true in the context of Treaty 7, what is currently Southern Alberta, where the Blackfoot Peoples have asserted in recent land claims that the Treaty was a peace agreement and not an agreement to land cession or the surrendering of title to the British (Monchalin, 2016, 2023).

Canadian efforts to end slavery began in 1793 in Upper Canada (Ontario) with the passage of a "bill for the gradual abolition of slavery" (Winks, 2014, p. 97). While this bill did not end the enslavement of Africans in Canada, it

prevented their further enslavement (Winks, 2014). However, Winks (2014) further notes that the bill also allowed enslaved Africans before the proclamation to remain so till death (Winks, 2014). Ironically, some lawmakers at that period were also enslavers; therefore, it makes sense that they would protect their interests as enslaved Africans were considered property, and enslaving people was associated with wealth (Winks, 2014). Canadian slavery differed from the U.S. because Canadians did not practice plantation slavery. Nevertheless, people of African descent were considered property to own, traded, exploited as domestic enslaved people, and even murdered when perceived to be out of line (Cooper, 2007; Walker, 1992; Winks, 2014).

Slavery continued in Lower Canada (Quebec) and Nova Scotia well into the 1800s(Cooper, 2007; Maynard, 2017; Walker, 1992; Winks, 2014). According to Winks (2014), the last public sale of an enslaved African in Nova Scotia was in 1807 (p. 105). In 1833, the British Parliament passed an Act to end slavery throughout the British Empire effective on August 1, 1834, making Canada a destination for those escaping plantation slavery in the Southern U.S. (Shadd et al., 2022; Winks, 2014). However, Winks (2014) notes that slavery "remained legal in all British North American colonies until 1834" with limited growth (Winks, 2014, p. 110). Today, Black Canadians celebrate August 1 as Emancipation Day, a celebration that became official post-Gorge Floyd on March 24, 2021(Canadian Heritage, 2021). Slavery continued in the U.S. until 1865, when the Civil War between the Southerners and Northerners in the U.S. ended slavery (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; Shadd et al., 2022; Wacquant, 2001).

The official end of slavery in the 1830s in Canada and 1860s in the U.S. saw the replacement of this institution with segregated measures for formerly enslaved people of African descent. This replacement ranges from police-enforceable Jim Crow laws to the present-day mass incarceration of African Americans under the semblance of a “war” on drug policies in the U.S. (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; Wacquant, 2001). Similar practices of segregating people of

African descent and the war on drugs policies were also deployed in Canada (Cooper, 2007; Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Kelly, 2022; Maynard, 2017). I used quotation marks on war to suggest those who live in war zones have an intimate understanding of the meaning of the word – killing, maiming, destruction, and a constant state of terror. Wars were one of the means of producing enslaved persons - wars continue to be the experiences of thousands in Africa, and for some people of African descent, terror, a condition of war, continues to be a daily experience in countries like the U.S. and Canada through practices of policing.

Generally, Black people, (Black youth included) tend to encounter police more often as pedestrians or motorists than their White counterparts in Canada, U.S., and U.K.(Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009, 2011; Haag, 2021; Hall et al., 2019; Hayle et al., 2016; Henry & Tator, 2011; Lichtenberg, 2006; Maynard, 2017; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Studies from both Canada and the U.S. have also shown that Black people and other racialized persons tend to be disproportionately subjected to various forms of police violence, including police shooting deaths and incarceration, relative to their percentages of the population (Alexander, 2012; Durán & Loza, 2017; Maynard, 2017; Oriola et al., 2012; Pedicelli, 1998; Toronto Police Service, 2022; Wortley et al., 2020).

2.2. Youth Experiences with Police - Racial Profiling

The U.S. war on drugs policies of the 1980s and Canada's tough-on-crime legislation, especially during Stephen Harper's Conservative Government (2006-2015), were catalysts for the contemporary increase in surveillance and policing of Black people (Alexander, 2012; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Davis, 2003; Khenti, 2014; Mallea, 2010; Maynard, 2020; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). The enforcement of these policies often included the frequent targeting of Black people in their stops and searches, amounting to racial profiling. The

association of the skin-colour-blackness with criminality makes Black youth prime for their subjection to these targeted police stops and searches, as U.S. and Canadian studies have shown(Brunson & Pegram, 2018; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; M. Fine et al., 2003; Friedman et al., 2004; Haag, 2021; Henderson et al., 1997; Jones, 2014; Lurigio et al., 2009; Maynard, 2017; Rengifo & McCallin, 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2021, 2022; Waldron, 2021). In some cases, police presumed Black youth to be up to no good when seen in small groups, thereby making them targets for harassment and other forms of violence, including verbal and physical assault (Fine et al., 2003; Friedman et al., 2004; Henry et al., 1996; Maynard, 2017).

For example, in a U.S. survey of 900 high school students between ages 14 and 17, 56 percent identified as African Americans (Friedman et al., (2004). Friedman et al. (2004) explored these students' firsthand and vicarious[7] experiences with police. The study revealed 81 percent of these high school students reported being stopped by police when in small groups, 49 percent and 14 percent when they were talking or hanging out in the street, respectively (Friedman et al., 2004, p. 9). The survey further revealed that 52 percent (n=111) of the study's female and 68 percent (n=200) of male participants felt police were disrespectful towards them during their interactions(Friedman et al., 2004, p. 10). Students who reported police were disrespectful during their encounters in this study also disclosed that police physically abused them(Friedman et al., 2004). African American youth were over-represented in this category compared to their White and Hispanic counterparts(Friedman et al., 2004). Interestingly, and perhaps frustrating to the youth, was that few of their interactions with police resulted in an arrest, nor were they "in response to serious criminal activities" (Friedman et al., 2004, p. 19). In the absence

[7] Brunson & Weitzer (2011) defined vicarious experience as an "indirect and internalized by the actor, including (1) observations of how the police treat others either in public setting, (2) media reporting of incidents involving police officers … and (3) communications from other about their personal experiences" (pp. 428-429).

of these youth's involvement in any severe illegal activities, the intersection of their youthfulness, in addition to their skin colour, in the case of the African American youth in this study, made them a target for police abuse, including physical abuse.

Brunson and Weitzer (2009) interviewed 45 Black and White male youth between the ages of 13 and 19 living in comparable disadvantaged neighbourhoods to gather their experiences from their encounters with police. Black youth participants of this study recognized their tendency to attract negative police attention independent of their involvement in criminal or suspicious activities (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). This understanding pointed to an intimate knowledge among Black youth that their skin colour is a liability for their ability to exist in public spaces without police surveillance and harassment in the U.S., Canada, and elsewhere (M. Fine et al., 2003; Friedman et al., 2004; Maynard, 2017; Weber, 2020).

Like their U.S. counterparts, recent Canadian studies have also shown Black youth in Ontario are not immune to police surveillance, harassment, searches and police violence broadly defined (Haag, 2021; Moffette & Bruckert, 2023; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Toronto Police Service, 2022). Samuels-Wortley (2021) used a methodology informed by critical race theory to explore the experiences of Indigenous and Black youth between the ages of 16 and 24 when interacting with police in Toronto. The study allowed Indigenous and Black Canadian youth to share their feelings of having been disrespected, including the emotional distress they experienced when interacting with police (Samuels-Wortley, 2021).

Comparably, Haag's (2021) dissertation research findings also revealed similar experiences of Black Canadian youth in Toronto to those discussed by Samuels-Wortley (2021). Participants in this project reported being constantly subjected to daily police surveillance, carding, harassment, "searches and even incidents of police brutality" (Haag, 2021, p. 85). Generally, criminology and

criminal justice researchers tend to believe that residing in impoverished and high-risk neighbourhoods increases experiences of frequent police contact for residents in these places(Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Haag, 2021; Jones, 2014). This perspective may be accurate for youth in high-risk lifestyles, like involvement in criminal activities (Hayle et al., 2016). At the same time, research has also shown that race tends to be a deciding factor in Black youth's involuntary contact with police and how police treat them (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hayle et al., 2016). I will return to this debate later in this chapter in the subsection that examines the competing explanations for Black youth's disproportionately negative police encounters.

2.2.1. Carding or Street Checks

Carding[8], also known as street checks, is another law enforcement tactic that disproportionately targets Black people, including youth. Carding is an example of racial profiling and has been of great concern to Black Canadians long before the Star's investigation (Henry et al., 1996). The police practice of carding has been central in Canadian academic discourse and analysis of racial profiling since 2002 (Rankin, 2010; Rankin et al., 2002; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). Crime reporters Rankin et al. (2002) writing for the Toronto Star (Star) newspaper found that in 2002 the police carded Black Canadians more than any other group in that city, following their analyses of a massive database created by the Toronto Police Service (TPS). This ground-breaking work shed light on racial profiling as a reality familiar to Black Canadians in Toronto (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995; Henry et al., 1996; Wortley, 1996). The Star's analysis also revealed that Black Torontonians were "over-represented in specific categories of charges, including drug

[8] The Honourable Justice Michael Tulloch (2018) defines carding as "situations in which a police officer randomly asks an individual to provide identifying information when there is no objectively suspicious activity, the individual is not suspected of any offence and there is no reason to believe that the individual has any information on any offence. That information is then recorded and stored in a police intelligence database" (xi).

possession, and suspects of these offences were also more likely to be held in custody for a court appearance than White accused persons: 15.5% and 7.3%, respectively (Rankin et al., 2002). This pattern was consistent with racial profiling (Rankin et al., 2002; Wortley & Tanner, 2004).

The Star's analysis confirmed one of the 1995 conclusions of the Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System that Black people were less likely to be granted bail when charged with drug and robbery offences than White persons accused of the same crimes (Commission on Systemic Racism in the Ontario Criminal Justice System, 1995). According to Henry et al.'s (1996) research findings, the perception of a drug culture within Black communities had also been a reason to over-police members of these communities. This included police surveillance of clubs and events that Black Canadians attend frequently (Henry et al., 1996). Such profiling would occur although there was no credible evidence to suggest that Black Canadians or Black people, including Black youth commit more crimes than others (Alexander, 2012; Henry et al., 1996). These racialized policing practices continue to be a frequent experience for Black Canadians, and they take place in Southern Alberta. Until recently, the TPS's official response to racial profiling accusations has always been denial or justification (Henry & Tator, 2011; Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009; Toronto Police Service, 2022; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). These denials were present even though academic research and race-conscious reporting continued to validate Black people's experiences of racial profiling across Canada, including here in Alberta, in Nova Scotia, and Quebec (Carter, 2020; Huncar, 2017; Labby, 2017; Ray, 2019; Rubertucci, 2022; Serebin, 2022; Wakefield, n.d.; Wortley et al., 2020; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009, 2011, 2022). The Service began collecting race-based data outlining their interactions with civilians following George Floyd's murder, a practice that critical race criminologists have called for for years (Toronto Police Service, 2022; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). This collection resulted in the TPS becoming the first major

Canadian police organization to acknowledge their discriminatory practices against Black people in Canada in 2022. The Service analysis of the data members collected in 2020 confirms the disproportionate negative experiences of Black Canadians in almost all levels of their interactions with police in Toronto (Toronto Police Service, 2022).

For instance, this data revealed that Black Canadians in Toronto represented 22.6 percent of the 68,520 incidents where a police officer took an enforcement action (arrest, charge, or caution, amongst other actions). Meanwhile, Black Canadians comprised only 10.2 percent of Toronto's general population in 2020 (Toronto Police Service, 2022, pp. 38–45). Moreover, of the 1,224 incidents that resulted in police use of force, Black Canadians accounted for 39 percent (482) of these interactions (Toronto Police Service, 2022, p. 48). Police use-of-force incidents involving youth under 18 represented 3.6 percent (32) of these recorded incidents in 2020, out of which Black Canadian youth were 1.5 times over-represented in these incidents (Toronto Police Service, 2022, p. 53). The over-representation of Black youth in police use-of-force incidents is not surprising, as the data further revealed that Black Canadians were often perceived as a threat even when they did not appear to be threatening (Durán & Loza, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Wortley et al., 2020). It would appear that police officers often read off threats to their safety from the skin colour of those society has identified as Black (Hall, 1997).

Research has shown the stereotypical association of blackness with danger are rooted in slavery and have often increased Black people's vulnerability to police use of lethal violence (Durán & Loza, 2017; Kahn & Martin, 2016; Maynard, 2017). Accordingly, the data shows that Black people were represented 1.5 more times in instances where police pointed a firearm at a person they perceived had a weapon and 2.3 times where they were not perceived to have one(Toronto Police Service, 2022, p. 55). Indeed, Wortley et al.'s (2020) study reveals one is more likely to be killed by police in Toronto if you are a Black person than

being Black in the U.S. Thus, Canada might be safer for some than the U.S., but not for people who are Black.

2.2.2. Driving While Black (DWB)

Associated with the enforcement of war on drugs policies, Black people also tend to disproportionately encounter police as motorists as police are more likely to believe that they will discover drugs in their possession (Lichtenberg, 2006). The frequency of this phenomenon has also led Black people in the U.S., Canada, and the U.K., to recognize the practice as: "driving while black" (DWB)(Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Higgins et al., 2012; Legewie, 2016; Lichtenberg, 2006; Mosher, 2011; Warde, 2013). Research from the U.S. has shown that Black motorists were least likely to possess drugs when stopped and searched by police but were more likely to possess larger quantities of narcotics where a search is successful (Lichtenberg, 2006). The potential for these kinds of findings is often served as a justification for the subjection of the majority of Black motorists to this humiliating practice. Lichtenberg (2006) contends that this should not be the case. As Lichtenberg has indicated, on average, the police success rate in discovering drugs from these searches was approximately 25 percent (p. 59). However, it is debatable whether police specifically target Black motorists or other drivers of colour in their traffic stops(Higgins et al., 2012). Higgins et al. (2011) analyzed more than 36,000 self-reported forms completed by police officers of the Louisville Division of Police regarding their decisions to search a motorist during a traffic stop. This analysis revealed that Black motorists accounted for 39 percent of the stops, and 25.4 percent of those officers decided to search during these encounters (Higgins et al., 2012).

Prior research from the U.K. has also confirmed that police tend to be suspicious of Black motorists based on the type and condition of a car one may be driving (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). Consequently, driving an older model car

or one in poor condition attracts police attention to a Black motorist because of the car's potential defects. This suggests that race and class or social status tend to intersect to impact the lives of those who are racialized in society (Carastathis, 2016). Research from the U.S. has also established that police are more likely to perceive Black and other motorists from poor communities to be driving without proper or expired insurance documentation, in addition to driving while having outstanding traffic violation charges or fines (Mosher, 2011). At the same time, affordability becomes a concern when one drives an expensive car that one could not possibly afford without being a drug dealer (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). It is important to note that the ways and means by which Black people experience anti-Black racist police practices in the U.S. or the U.K. may differ comparatively (Goldberg, 2009). However, both countries traded and enslaved Black people. Thus, relationally, the same mentalities that once informed those practices are connected to the modern anti-Black policing experiences of Black people in these countries, often distortedly understood as a necessity for public safety.

Cooper (2007), Maynard (2017), Sharpe (2016), and most recently, Walcott's (2021) works have made a direct connection between the present-day experiences of Black people, particularly in their encounters with police and other state-sanctioned institutions, to slavery within the Canadian context. For Sharpe, slavery is not history when Black people in Canada continue to experience poor living conditions, poor health outcomes and greater potential for premature death, including from their encounters with police. Maynard (2017) explores the intersection of the law and related institutional policies, from immigration to education, social service and child welfare systems that continue to work together in devaluing Black lives in Canada. For example, Black youth are often perceived not to be smart, and they are disrespected and punished harshly in white supremacist educational institutions in Canada, including here in Alberta (Maynard, 2017).

Yet, Maynard (2017) argues this violence seems to be a less-known fact to some Canadians, or these realities are just being silenced to maintain the myth of a welcoming Canada. The association of blackness to criminality is connected to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade that reduced enslaved people of African descent to commodities and property to be owned (Maynard, 2017; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021). Walcott points to the obsession with property as the main driver for the mass incarceration of Black people and their premature deaths from their interactions with police in Canada. As such, Walcott (2021) contends abolishing property, policing, and prisons is necessary if Black people are going to have "their full lives and their full breaths acknowledged" (p. 27).

While I am hesitant to identify myself as an abolitionist or reformist mainly because life and people's experiences do not always fall neatly into the simplistic categories, we often place ourselves, I situate my work on a continuum within these frameworks, following Drake's (2017; 2020) works on reconciliation, resurgence, and Indigenous constitutionalism in Canada. For instance, I see the current operations of the Euro-Canadian criminal justice system as a cultural (European) means of promoting safety, from the apprehension, conviction, and punishment of those believed to have wronged society that more generally reflects the values of Canadians of European descent, imposed on Indigenous Peoples of Canada through direct colonial or settler colonial rule. Therefore, Canadians should acknowledge that the police, courts, and corrections as they exist in the present exemplify the power relations connected to ongoing settler colonial projects (Comack, 2012; Monchalin, 2016; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Indigenous scholars have established that the current Euro-Canadian criminal justice system does more harm than good to Indigenous communities because of the differences in worldviews that would have informed a Euro-Canadian (capitalist) justice system and an Indigenous Peoples' (relational) justice system (Comack, 2012; Drake, 2020; Little Bear, 2000; Monchalin, 2016, 2023). The Canadian judicial system has begun acknowledging and addressing this reality

by establishing Indigenous courts (like the Calgary Indigenous Court, established in 2019) within the current legal framework (Alberta Courts, 2023).

I also spent much of my time in community corrections, supervising individuals released on bail or convicted of assault related to domestic disputes (Also known as domestic violence (DV)). Often, children are involved in DV supervision files. Both parties are sometimes willing to reconcile their relationships, especially where children are involved, warranting a non-judgmental, compassionate approach to supervising DV clientele. Nonetheless, I do recognize that society tends to rely on the use of corrections to coerce or punish those believed to have wronged society through incarceration rather than addressing the factors that drew them into the system, including mental health, addictions, poverty, (racial) discrimination, and marginalization, to name a few (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; Gilmore, 2007; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021).

In 2019-2020, the annual average cost to Canadian taxpayers of keeping a male and female in federal prison was $121,352 and $222,942, respectively (Public Safety Canada, 2023). I want to believe we might be motivated as a society to explore alternative means of promoting safety that include greater attentiveness to social supports for addiction, mental health, poverty, and greater access to education and meaningful employment rather than incarceration where knowledge of the cost of imprisonment in Canada is readily accessible. However, policing, criminal law and prisons were designed to transform Indigenous Peoples from owners of lands in settler societies into criminal threats to the settler colonial project, as Veracini (2010) and Özcan (2022) have argued. As a result, the political motivation to redirect resources from policing to social support might not exist in a settler state like Canada. Using Critical Race Theory (CRT) in this work will allow me to unpack these histories as they play out in the present experiences of the Black youth who participated in this study. CRT has allowed me to draw from a range of ideas on the continuum of abolition to reform that reach beyond a reduction of racism to skin colour alone.

Crits explore the intersection of race, law, and society in their works, by centralizing race, racism and power in their exploration of the social experiences of those deemed marginalized others (K. Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda et al., 1993). I will explore the history of CRT and the fundamental propositions that guide the Crits in their works in the next chapter; however, intersectionality is a framework within CRT that allows us to see Black people's experiences in society more broadly, and to examine how their interactions with police, specifically, tend to be influenced by their gender identities, class or social status, immigration status, sexuality, abilities and other identity markers (Cho et al., 2013; K. Crenshaw, 1989; K. W. Crenshaw, 2017; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020).

2.2.3. Sexualized Encounters

Thus far, the literature has overwhelmingly focused on the experiences of young men because of the purported higher proportion of police encounters that they experience (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Friedman et al., 2004; Haag, 2021). Nevertheless, studies have confirmed that policing and police violence is experienced differently based on gender and sexual orientation (Baćak et al., 2021; Brunson & Weitzer, 2011; Crenshaw, 2023; Fine et al., 2003; Maynard, 2020; Millar & O'Doherty, 2020; The African American Policy Forum, 2020). Fine et al. (2003) surveyed 911 people and interviewed 36 youth and young adults of White, African American, Latinx, and Asian or Pacific Islander descent between the ages of 13 to 22, in New York. The study explored the perceptions and experiences of these youth with police, security guards and other adults in authority (Fine et al., 2003).

The study revealed the sexual harassment young women often experience in their encounters with male police officers. This harassment usually involves officers flirting or whistling, in addition to the officers "coming on to them" during their interactions (p. 151). Young African American women who

participated in this study represented 38 percent of those who experienced these sexualized encounters with police (Fine et al. 2003, p. 151). Sexual harassment is violence, and as Fine et al. concluded, this kind of behaviour "may reduce young women's willingness to turn to the police in times of need" (p. 151). In Canada, Maynard's (2017) work exposes the labelling of women of African descent as welfare fraudsters, prostitutes, and drug mules in Ontario to justify their harassment by state officials, from sworn police officers to immigration officers and social or welfare workers. Thus, Maynard's and Fine et al.'s research points to the importance of using methodologies that allow participants to share their stories to counter the perception of equal protection in society. The violent experiences of racialized women at the hands of police and the general public do not always gather media or public attention in the U.S. or Canada, an issue that scholarly activists are attempting to address transnationally in their works (Crenshaw, 2023; Maynard, 2017; Millar & O'Doherty, 2020; The African American Policy Forum, 2020).

In 2014, the African American Policy Forum (AAPF) and the Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies (CISPS) launched the #SayHerName campaign to break the media silence surrounding police victimization of Black women in the U.S. ("Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; The African American Policy Forum, 2020). In their recent collaboration with the mothers and siters of the 177 Black women killed by police in the U.S. between 1975 and 2022, Crenshaw and Ritchie (2023) assert that the silence about Black women who police have killed has "distorted our collective capacity to respond. We cannot address a problem we cannot name. And we cannot name it if the stories of these women are not heard" (p.13). The #SayHerName movement "brings awareness to the often-invisible names and stories of Black women and girls who have been victimized by racist police violence" (Crenshaw, 2023; The African American Policy Forum, 2020). Black Canadian women have also been subjected to police violence, yet their racialized and gendered experiences of violence are not always public knowledge,

nor do they receive similar public condemnation where an experience of police violence is known (Maynard, 2017; Millar & O'Doherty, 2020). The violent assault on Dalia Kafi mentioned in the introduction exemplifies a localized Southern Alberta experience of violence that Black women tend to experience from their interactions with police (Freeman, 2020; Gilligan, 2021).

More recently, Millar and O'Doherty (2020) examined the sensationalized, racialized, and gendered bias in the media reporting on cases related to Canada's anti-human trafficking laws. The exploration also included how these laws are enforced and prosecuted in Canada. Millar and O'Doherty's study revealed that the reporting, investigation, and prosecution of the victimization of racialized women and girls in Canada is not always a priority (Maynard, 2017; Millar & O'Doherty, 2020; Monchalin, 2016). For example, Millar and O'Doherty further argued that Indigenous and Black Canadian women and girls are disproportionately targeted for sexualized violence, including murder. Yet, the media coverage of these cases is frequently minimal compared to when the victims are White women and girls (Millar & O'Doherty, 2020).

Crenshaw (2020) notes the media coverage of Black women's experiences with police violence in the U.S. is often inadequate because police violence is understood to be an issue that impacts only African American men. This frame of understanding makes it easier to blame Black women and question their decisions and judgments when they fall victim to police violence (Crenshaw, 2023; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020). As such, Black women and girls and their experiences tend to be erased through colour-blind approaches to media reporting, law and policies in white supremacist societies. Colour blindness or race neutrality is a liberal principle of equality wherein one's race, skin colour, or history (enslavement, colonialism) does not matter regarding access to privileges, opportunities, or treatment in society (K. W. Crenshaw, 1988). According to this principle, we can address racism and racial discrimination by treating all people equally, irrespective of their histories or current circumstances (Delgado & Stefancic,

2017). Where racism is embedded within the fabric of the various institutions today, the idea of colour-blindness does not guarantee Black people equal access to opportunities, let alone to state protection. Their differential treatment in their encounters with police remains a fact, whether it is accepted as such or not, especially in the Canadian context (Haag, 2021; Maynard, 2017; Moffette & Bruckert, 2023; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Walcott, 2021).

Race, gender, sexuality, and socioeconomic status, amongst others, often intersect to determine the criminalization or consideration of victimhood when violence is directed toward racialized persons in Canada ((K. Crenshaw, 1989; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; Maynard, 2017; Millar & O'Doherty, 2020; Monchalin, 2016). The reasons for and explanations of the different kinds of experiences that racialized people have in their interactions with the police are not evident when explored from a colour-blind approach. As Mills (2014) argues, White citizenry insists that the best way to attain a race-less society is to ignore the race itself. Where racism, as Todorov (2004) contends, is an ideology, ignoring the reality of race is dismissive of the very people society tends to racialize, like Black people, and it is indicative of white supremacy – where whiteness is assumed to be the norm. Belief in Black inferiority, criminality or the perceived general tendency toward violence are often shared through various cultural mediums, including the media and educational institutions in white supremacist societies (Adams-Bass et al., 2014; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hayle et al., 2016; Maynard, 2017).

2.2.4. The Competing Explanations

Canadian and U.S. researchers have been grappling with two competing theories in their attempted understanding of why Black and other racialized youth disproportionately encounter police compared to White youth (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Geller & Fagan, 2019; Hayle et al., 2016; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Piquero, 2008; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022).

The first proposed theory in these explanations that might perhaps be more palatable to the law enforcement community, is the proposition that racialized youth, especially Black youth, are more inclined to criminality than White youth. Researchers refer to this thesis as the differential involvement in crime thesis (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011) or the illegal behaviours thesis (functionalism)(Hayle et al., 2016). The second suggested explanation is the differential treatment, or marginalized status (conflict theory), of racialized people that draws negative police attention to them.

Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) tested these theories by examining a representative cross-sectional sample of Canadian youth aged 12 to 17 who identified as Indigenous, Black and of West Asian racial or ethnic descent. Fitzgerald and Carrington's findings did not support the differential involvement in crime argument. Visible minority and Indigenous Canadian youth's frequent and involuntary contact with police is not due to their inclination to criminality. This study further shows having no known prior criminal involvement does not protect visible minority and Indigenous youth from frequent police contact (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011).

In another Canadian study, Hayle et al. (2016) joined Fitzgerald and Carrington (2011) in attempting to explain racial disparity in youth contact with police. They examined data from the 2000 Toronto Youth Crime Victimization survey, that included high school students living at home (N = 3,393), and the results of face-to-face interviews with 396 homeless youth. Regarding high school students with no history of involvement in crime, their analysis also confirmed that marginalized status matters in the disproportionate number of police encounters experienced by racialized youth. Other relevant theoretical factors like neighbourhood crime rate, age, violent crime, and socioeconomic status, to name a few, could not explain these youth's differential experiences in their interactions with police (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hayle et al., 2016). Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2022) revisited this debate twenty years after

Rankin et al. (2002a, 2002b) raised the issue of racial profiling in Toronto and reached a similar conclusion to the ones from the previous studies mentioned above: race is salient in how Black Canadians, and youth in particular, experience policing in Toronto (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022). Police continued to disproportionately stop and search Black Canadians, although the Government of Ontario officially banned street checks as of January 1, 2017(Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022). To summarize, the takeaway from these studies is that 'good' behaviour does not protect Black youth from unwarranted police encounters (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009). Although studies have confirmed that Black people do not commit crimes more than their white counterparts, the racialization of crime makes Black people the frequent subject of unwanted police interactions (Alexander, 2012; Henry et al., 1996; Maynard, 2017). According to Henry et al. (1996), the racialization of crime is a practice in which a "particular racial group becomes strongly identified with criminal activity." For Black people, this association revolves around violence, gangs, and drugs; hence, police tend to target Black youth in their enforcement of crimes associated with gangs, violence, or drugs (Alexander, 2012; Chettleburgh, 2003; Henry et al., 1996; Maynard, 2017).

In my previous capacity as a probation officer in Southern Alberta, I also supervised a caseload of young adults who had been among police-identified gang members and were living under various release programs, from bail to probation and conditional sentence orders. This caseload was comprised of males from primarily racialized communities, including Asian, African, Middle Eastern, South American, and Indigenous People. The association of violence with gangs meant that police often monitored the youth identified through this caseload closely, especially where release conditions might stipulate the specific times a client might be allowed outside their residence or neighbourhoods. Failing To

comply with such a stipulation would constitute a breach of a Probation Order[9], which is an offence under section 733.1(1) of the Criminal Code of Canada (Department of Justice Canada, 2023).

As such, it was common for youth to end up with more offences and convictions than they started with during supervision in community corrections. This means the court may dismiss the original charges of a person on bail. However, that person could still leave the system with a conviction or two for violating a condition of their release order while under supervision. The disproportionate representation of racialized youth as gang members inspired my master's project, exploring intervention approaches for African Canadian youth classified as gang members in their communities. Walcott (2021) contends, "The continual focus on street gangs and street crime by police and in public discourse only serves to further the idea that Black people are more criminal than others" (pp.36-37). Gang-identified young adults reported to me weekly in probation, making it often challenging for these youth to hold jobs or attend regular schooling, thereby increasing their risks of re-offending and prolonging their stay within the system (Bonta & Andrews, 2007). Bonta and Andrews (2007) identified poor education and limited employment opportunities as significant risk factors for persons involved in the criminal justice system. However, for Black youth, their skin colour is also a risk factor for their criminalization in the first place.

The stigma of viciousness and barbarism that has been historically attached to skin colour-blackness and was once used to justify the enslavement of people of African ancestry, continues to impact the lives of Black Canadian youth (Maynard, 2017; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021). A Canadian study has shown that police are more likely to identify Indigenous and Black youth as gang members than White youth (Chettleburgh, 2003; Sinclair & Grekul, 2012). For

[9] A Probation Order (s.731(1)) is a judge-imposed community sentence in Canada after a pleading or finding of guilt, generally for non-violence offences, of three years or below of supervision.

Black youth, this gang label, together with being seen as thugs and criminals, often becomes an excuse for their harassment, intimidation, including deportation and subjection to violence in their interactions with Canadian law enforcement officials(Bashi, 2004; Haag, 2021; Maynard, 2017). These experiences have detrimental effects on their mental, and psychological well-being, and their sense of belonging, in addition to their perception of police. As such, it is necessary to account for the continued dehumanization of Black people inherent in how Black youth experience policing in countries like Canada and the U.S.(Brunson & Pegram, 2018; Brunson & Weitzer, 2011; Card, 2020; K. W. Crenshaw, 2020; Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021). Dehumanization is a process whereby individuals or collective groups, like Black people, are associated with animalistic behaviours to justify their victimization, including their enslavement (Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Smith, 2011).

2.3. The Impacts of Undesirable Police Encounters

2.3.1 On Perception of Police

A substantial body of literature has now confirmed that Black people, including Black youth, hold negative perceptions of police compared to White people and other racialized communities as a result of their often negative encounters with police (Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; M. Fine et al., 2003; Haag, 2021; Henderson et al., 1997; Kahn & Martin, 2016; Lurigio et al., 2009; Moffette & Bruckert, 2023; Nadal et al., 2017; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Wortley, 1996; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009, 2011, 2022). For instance, Wortley and Owusu-Bempah (2022) recently re-examined the state of police racism debates over the past 25 years in Ontario, Canada. Based on their findings, Wortley and Owusu-Bempah assert that nothing much has changed in Black people's disproportionate reporting of police stops and searches (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022). What has changed, however, was a noticeably significant proportion of Asian and White people in their agreement

that police often discriminate against Black people (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022). The study showed a 14 percent increase in Asian people's agreement, with this being the case in 2019 (70 percent), compared to their 1994 (56 percent) perception of police bias against Black people (Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022, p. 574). It is important to note that the findings could not have been influenced by the 2020 worldwide anti-Black police violence protests following George Floyd's murder. Wortley and Owusu noted they collected the study's data before 2020. The impacts of anti-Black policing are now being recognized beyond Black communities and Black people's perceptions of police officers.

2.3.2 On Mental and Psychological Health

Anti-Black violence perpetrated by police is now being increasingly recognized as a public health issue, especially in the wake of the murder of George Floyd and the death of Regis Korchinski-Paquet in the presence of Metropolitan Toronto Police officers. As such, a considerable body of literature has focused on exploring the impacts of police violence on Black people, including Black youth's overall physical and mental health(Alang et al., 2021; Algrim et al., 2022; H. Cooper et al., 2004; J. DeVylder et al., 2020; J. E. DeVylder et al., 2018; Geller, 2021; Geller et al., 2014; Theall et al., 2022). These researchers use mental health as an umbrella term to highlight the variety of ways that police violence impacts Black people's mental well-being. These impacts include generalized anxiety, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depressed mood (Alang et al., 2021; Geller et al., 2014), severe distress, suicidal ideation, and suicide attempts(J. DeVylder et al., 2020; J. E. DeVylder et al., 2018), among other psychological or emotional responses, such as anger, fear, sadness, hypervigilance, hopelessness, worthlessness, nervousness, and agitation(Alang et al., 2021; J. E. DeVylder et al., 2018).

From September 2012 to March 2013, Geller et al. (2014) surveyed 1261 young men aged 18 to 26, 80 percent of their participants identified as non-

White. They examined the relationship between involuntary aggressive police contact and respondents' mental health (Geller et al., 2014). The study revealed 78 percent of respondents reported no criminal history (Geller et al., 2014, p. 2323). However, 80 percent of the respondents said police had stopped them ten times or fewer. More than five percent reported being stopped by police more than 25 times within the study period (Geller et al., 2014, p. 2323). The frequency of this kind of contact and its intrusiveness were significantly associated with symptoms of anxiety, trauma, and PTSD in the participants, especially those who perceived the stops to be unwarranted. Most importantly, PTSD was higher among the respondents who identified as Black (Geller et al., 2014, p. 2324). The awareness and anticipation that a mundane encounter with police could be deadly, harms mental health regardless of race, but more so for Black people (Alang et al., 2021).

Alang et al. (2021) also assessed whether there is a relationship between the anticipation of a violent police encounter and the mental health outcomes of participants based on their race. This study shows that having negative police encounters, whether they are perceived as necessary or not, is associated with depressive mood and anxiety. The findings in Geller et al. (2014) push Alang et al.’s conclusions further, revealing that the odds of these health outcomes are even more significant when a participant perceives a negative encounter as unnecessary. These findings should be concerning because the literature has confirmed that police often subject Black youth to hyper-surveillance despite having no history of criminal involvement (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Brunson & Pegram, 2018; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009, 2011; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hayle et al., 2016). Alang et al. found that Black and Latinx people were more likely to experience depressed mood than White people due to negative encounters with police. As such, Alang et al. assert that police brutality of any form "can directly cause distressing and upsetting emotions", including frustration, fear, and wariness (p. 8).

There is a recognition in the literature that Black people's experiences of police violence increase at the intersection of racism, and poverty. There is a correlation between racialized policing in impoverished neighbourhoods as poverty is both racialized and gendered (Alang et al., 2021; Geller et al., 2014; Theall et al., 2022). Researchers like Gee and Ford (2011), Norberg et al. (2018), and most recently, Waldron (2020), Wendel et al. (2022), and Klein and Lopez (2022) connect police violence and its traumatizing effects on Black people's mental health to the terror their ancestors experienced during slavery. Canadian scholar and activist Waldron (2020) extends the analysis of the "racial terror" that Black people experience as impacting not only the individual directly involved and targeted by police, but this effect also extends more broadly to the entire Black community. Waldron also draws a parallel between society's tendencies to pathologize Black resistance to state-sanctioned violence, like the labelling of Black Lives Matter protesters as looters, to how "Slavery was perceived as the natural condition of Africans and those who challenged this "norm" by protesting or fleeing from slavery were considered to be mentally ill" (p. 34). This project will take this analysis further by seeing Black people's experiences with anxiety, depression, or suicidal thoughts not just as feelings but as signs of their responses and resistance to their ongoing experiences with state-sanctioned violence and oppression in white supremacist societies (Reynolds, 2020).

Recent Canadian databases on the lethal use of police force have also revealed that Black and Indigenous People disproportionately represent the victims of deadly police encounters over the past 20 years, from 2000 to 2022, with 2022 being extreme (Flanagan, 2020; Gillis, 2023; Marcoux & Nicholson, 2018; Singh et al., 2020; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023; Wortley et al., 2020). Police-involved shootings increased by almost 50 percent between 2019 and 2022: in Canada, 34 people died in their encounters with police in 2019, compared to 69 in 2022 (Tracking (In)Justice, 2023). Black Canadians in Southern Alberta

accounted for three percent of those deaths, a similar proportion to their entire population across the province of Alberta (Marcoux, 2018; Statistics Canada, 2019b; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023).

Five Black men of Somali and South Sudanese descent have died due to police encounters in Canada in the past eight years, including most recently, in St. John, Newfoundland and Labrador, in 2023(Antle, 2023). In Alberta, Latjor Tuel was killed in Calgary in 2022(Irete, 2022; Pedersen, 2022). Machuar Madut died in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 2019(Brohman, 2020). Police fatally shot Abdirahman Abdi in Ottawa, Ontario, in 2016(Harford & Yogaretnam, 2016; Williams, 2021). Andrew Loku was killed in Toronto, Ontario in 2015(Gillis, 2015). The men mentioned here were all experiencing mental health distress during their fatal encounters with the police. The impacts of these outcomes are profound in Black communities across Canada and linger for years within these collective memories, especially in a society where stories of police violence seem never-ending, making one wonder where their place is as a Black person in a society like Canada.

2.3.3 Police Discretion and Sense of Belonging

The question of one's place as a Black person in Canada is an issue of belonging in a settler colonial state, with ongoing efforts to eliminate Indigenous Peoples, the original inhabitants of this land (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). For Wolfe (2006), structural genocide is a means of Indigenous elimination. Wolfe's use of the term structural genocide allows us to understand, for example, the disproportionate representation of Indigenous children in welfare and correctional (both youth and adult) systems in Canada as part of the logic of elimination of Indigenous Peoples (Monchalin, 2016; Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2022; Statistics Canada, 2017; Zinger, 2022). For Veracini (2010), the disproportionate incarceration of Indigenous Peoples is not accidental; it is a process of transferring their

Indigeneity to a criminal class to facilitate their suppression by the Canadian settler state. If the primary goal of Indigenous elimination is access to Indigenous land and the imposition of European governance systems on Indigenous Peoples(Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006), then the presence of Black people in this land, from slavery to being forced to come to Canada from Africa because of civil wars can be seen, to some extent, as aiding the settler colonial project of dispossessing Indigenous Peoples of their lands. Additionally, as a Black person who has worked within the Canadian criminal justice system, I now know that this aiding also involved helping with the administration of one of the institutions designed to manage and control Indigenous Peoples in the settler Canadian state.

According to Lowman and Barker (2015), belonging to a settler colonial society like Canada is possible with, firstly, the recognition that Indigenous Peoples are the original stewards of Turtle Island and, secondly, the treaties they signed with the French and English settlers signified friendship and peaceful co-existence on the lands, not relinquishing ownership as settlers' narratives may suggest. From an abolitionist or pragmatist perspective and using the works of Crits like Bell (2005) and Mills (1997), I would argue that Black people are tolerated or included in white supremacist societies as much as their presence continues to benefit the White elites. Creating a non-exploitative alternative form of co-existence in Canada necessitates ending white supremacy while centralizing the different worldviews of the Indigenous Peoples as a guiding light because this is their ancestral home, and we are their uninvited guests.

Professor Leroy Little Bear (2000) points to the fundamental importance of language in Indigenous societies. From an Indigenous person's perspective, he asserts, "Language embodies the way a society thinks. Through learning and speaking a particular language, an individual absorbs the collective thought process of a people" (Leroy, 2000, p. 78). Thus, to prevent a group of people

from speaking their Indigenous languages, as was the case here in Canada, deprives them of valuable opportunities to pass down their traditional knowledge, from communal survival skills to ways of maintaining law and order, from generation to generation (Monchalin, 2016). Monchalin (2023) further notes that Indigenous Peoples' cultures, languages, and practices inform their concepts, notions, and approaches to justice that differ from Nation to Nation. As Professor Little Bear contends, this diversity serves a purpose within Indigenous societies – it minimizes deviation from the standard and that "Law is culture, and culture is law" (p. 83). While the settler Canadian state has managed to suppress and marginalize the various forms of Indigenous Peoples' approaches to justice, Victor (2007) asserts Indigenous Peoples' forms of justice never ceased to exist. Monchalin insists these forms of justice are in sharp contrast to the Euro-Canadian system of justice, which tends to rely on coercion through "arresting, convicting, and imposing sanctions" (p. 452), as argued earlier.

According to Mills (1997), the police are one of the coercive arms of the state, “working both to keep the peace and prevent crime among the white citizens and to maintain the racial order and detect and destroy challenges to it” (p. 84). Accordingly, I conceive of policing as a cultural concept and both a colonial and seller colonial tool, rooted in European understandings of the ways and means of a) keeping the elites safe and b) maintaining the marginalized and racialized in their places within a specific political arrangement. In societies like Sierra Leone, where policing was introduced as a colonial institution, community safety is often promoted through practices that foster respect, especially for one’s elders. For instance, it is a common practice to extend one’s respect for their parents to elders similar in age to their parents. Within this cultural landscape, violent crimes, like murder, were rare, especially outside of the capital city. Citizens continued settling most disputes outside their British-imposed legal system through their customary

Chiefs, as they did during the British colonial rule of Sierra Leone. A similar justice system arrangement should be possible in Canada (Drake, 2020).

In Canada, police harassment, intimidation, and hostility experienced by Black people, concealed under the pretext of law and order, often signal to people of African descent their level of acceptance or belonging as members of society (Loader, 2006; Waddington, 1999). Race or skin colour should not matter in how one experiences policing of all forms in a country like Canada, including arrests or charges, because of the perception that police are colour-blind. However, as the literature has shown, these extra-legal factors are often salient in how Black people and youth experience policing.

Samuels-Wortley's (2022) recent Canadian study has shown that race was a factor in whom police decide to arrest, charge or release in their interactions with youth. Black youth were often subject to police discretion, particularly in the enforcement of drug-related infractions. The use of discretion may be the most common way that violence against racialized persons, including Black people, is carried out in their interactions with police as a result of racial profiling (Alpert et al., 2005; Bass, 2001; Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Goff, 2001; Maynard, 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2022; Stroshine et al., 2008; Waddington, 1999). Without legal reasons, like being observed engaging in criminal activity, one should not be subjected to unwelcome police interaction. Granted, this could be challenging for a person identified as Black in a society where blackness seems to be consistently associated with criminality.

Research has linked police stops, searches, and other harassment and intimidation practices targeting Black people to their feeling of not belonging in countries like Canada, the U.K., and Australia (Hall et al., 2019; Loader, 2006; Waddington, 1999; Weber, 2020). Wood and Waite (2011) define belonging as a "dynamic emotional attachment that relates individuals to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience" (p. 1). Feelings of acceptance, recognition and respect tend to promote emotional attachment to a place, physical

or imagined (Askins, 2015; Wood & Waite, 2011). Askins (2015) conceives of belonging beyond narrow state definitions that only consider immigration or citizenship status to include emotional citizenry. Emotional citizenry includes the genuine befriending of someone perceived to be different and the ways that this can promote one's sense of belonging.

Police participate in what Loader (2006) and Weber (2020) have described in their separate works as the politics of belonging, and I would add that this often occurs with the help of members of the public. It is not uncommon for a person of colour to be seen seemingly being out of place, especially in White dominant neighbourhoods (Walcott, 2021). Weber (2020) explored the connection between policing and belonging in Melbourne, Australia. This project involved young people aged 16 and older from migrant and refugee backgrounds, including South Sudanese youth and their families. The study revealed police often harassed and singled out South Sudanese youth from other mixed-raced groups in public places: malls, parks, and transit because of their race (Weber, 2020).

In Canada, Saghbini and Paquin-Marseille (2023) have recently reported that while Black youth (12-17 years old) account for approximately 4 percent of the combined youth population in Nova Scotia, Alberta, and British Columbia, they accounted for about 10 percent of the youth held at Young Offender Centres in these provinces between 2020 and 2021. Anecdotal evidence shows that youth of South Sudanese descent now account for more than 50 percent of incarcerated youth in Southern Alberta. Skin colour-blackness is a defining feature of South Sudanese youth in Australia and Alberta. Weber also discovered that police routinely followed Sudanese mothers "for no apparent reason while driving in their neighbourhoods," including visiting their homes for minor matters (p. 80). These humiliating and intimidating interactions occur while neighbours watch, drawing negative attention to these families in their neighbourhoods (Weber, 2020). Thus, among other dimensions of belonging, Weber argues that police

participate in the politics of belonging when they identify certain groups based on their skin colour as a security threat to society (see Weber, 2020, p. 85).

In my view, belonging comes with a personal responsibility to respect and honour the traditional practices of Indigenous Peoples and their connections to this land - Canada, to be allowed to be different, be your authentic self and stand up against injustices of all forms. This differs significantly from the politics of belonging engaged in by police across settler colonial societies like Canada and Australia.

This literature suggests that the societal association of Black people and Black youth with criminality, violence, gangs, and thugs generally dehumanizes members of these communities. Symons (1999) explored the racialization of youth and street gangs in Montreal. This study revealed that police tend to perceive immigrant youth from war-torn countries as gravitating to violence and gangs because, unlike White youth "born with a hockey stick" in their hands, these youth were born with a "grenade in their hands" (Symons, 1999, p. 9). Therefore, violence is assumed to be cultural for the immigrant youth that police identified as gang members. Being Black, with a child soldier[10] label and experiencing mental distress can be deadly for Black Canadians from war-torn African countries, including South Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo, to name a few. The phrase "child soldier" has recently been prominent, especially following the police shooting of Latjor Tuel, who was experiencing mental health symptoms, in Calgary, as if to suggest he presented more risk to public safety than any other Black person. The schema below summarizes the literature reviewed here.

[10] In this project, the label child soldier refers to persons (as young as ten years old) who rebels had seized from their families in war-torn countries, often violently, and forced to bear weapons.

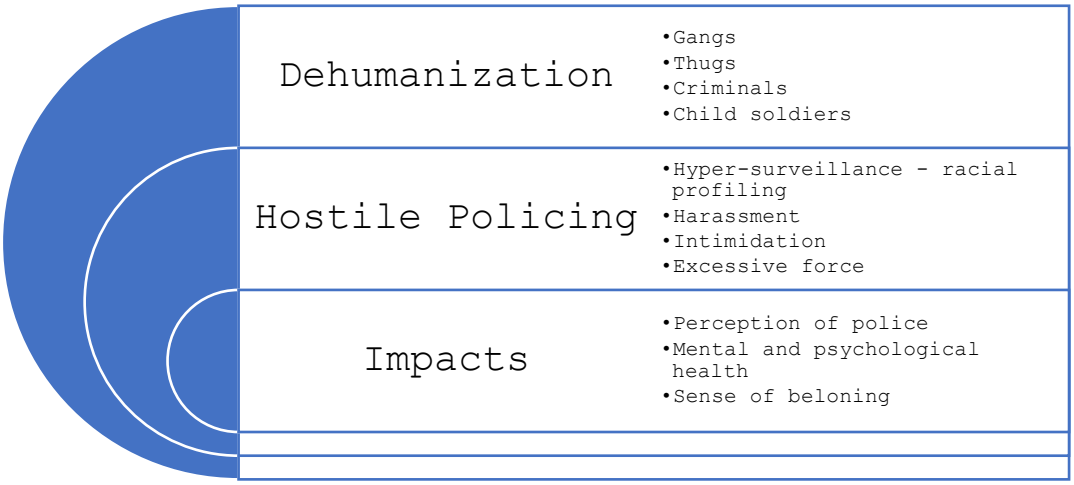


Figure 1: *Justification of Police Victimization and Impacts on Black People.*

Thus, police are often drawn to Black people more broadly because of the social meanings attached to the colour of their skin-blackness from slavery and colonialism to the present modalities of settler colonialism, not their propensity to criminality or violence (Alexander, 2012; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hall, 1997; Hall et al., 2019; Hayle et al., 2016; Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Walcott, 2021; Waldron, 2021; Weber, 2020; Welch, 2007).

2.4 Gaps in the Literature

There are methodological and contextual gaps in the literature. However, the most obvious gap in the literature is that most of the work reviewed here considers that 'race' is biological and, therefore, the causal agent, when it is racism that is the critical factor in racialized police practices that disproportionately target Black people (Cotter, 2022; Fine et al., 2021; Kahn & Martin, 2016; Nadal et al., 2017). Hall (1997; 2002) echoes one of CRT's propositions that race is a cultural construction, not a biological, physiological, or genetic fact. In his lecture, race the Floating Signifier, Hall describes signifiers as the systems and concepts of classifications that make meaning. Through meaning-making practices, "those things gain their meaning, not because of what they contain in their essence." Meaning is generated "in the shifting relations of difference [that words] ... establish with other

concepts and ideas in a signifying field" (Hall, 1997; 2002). From this perspective, skin colour – i.e., the blackness that Black people embody has a particular meaning only because powerful White elites have used it and continue to do so as a means of gaining and maintaining power in a society where whiteness is associated with superiority and blackness as its opposite (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016).

The methodological approaches of the reviewed literature to highlighting the differential treatment of Black people in their encounters with police, including Black Canadians, were mainly quantitative, mixed methods, and qualitative centred. In this project, I combine both research approaches with a grounding in CRT. Hence, I explore Black youth's police experiences in Southern Alberta, using a unique Critical Race Theory Mixed Methodology to centralize race and racism in this exploration. To my knowledge, this study is the first dissertation project in Canada to take a critical race Methodology approach and apply it to an anti-black racism project. It is also the second scholarly work in Canada to engage a Counter-Storytelling approach that centralizes Black youth's voices in exploring their experiences in their interactions with police in Southern Alberta. Samuels-Wortley (2021) uses a similar approach to highlight the experiences that Indigenous and Black youth had in their interactions with police in Toronto. Samuels-Wortley's study was the only project of all the literature reviewed to engage a CRT approach directly and explicitly as a research methodology to shed light on the lived experiences of Black and Indigenous youth in Canada.

2.4.1 Contextual Gap and Contribution to the Literature

In this project, I contextualize the experiences that Southern Alberta's Black youth have in their interactions with police, including the impacts of these interactions on their sense of belonging in Canada in the post-Floyd era. Studies that directly explore the effects of policing on citizens' sense of

belonging have generally come from the U.K. and Australia, as the reviewed literature has shown (Askins, 2015; Loader, 2006; Weber, 2020). The most recent study occurred in 2020(Weber, 2020). According to Weber (2020),

> police assume a role in the governance of belonging when they select individuals for unwarranted intervention based on their racial appearance or other cultural markers or fail to extend the expected courtesy and protection to members of these communities when they seek police assistance.[Furthermore,]Police become actors in the politics of belonging when they convey to wider audiences that certain ethnically and racially defined groups present a special threat to the safety of the wider community. (p. 85)

This project adds a current Canadian and Southern Alberta context to the literature on belonging, focusing on belonging as something other than a concept predicated on one's willingness to participate in the suppression of others. I conceive of belonging as an invitation and welcome that Indigenous Peoples can only extend to a guest on this land. This invitation and welcome comes with an ongoing responsibility to respect the cultures, practices, languages, and customs of the Indigenous community.

Depending on the region of the country, the Themnɛ people of Sierra Leone's customary practices dictate a welcomed guest is one their host has offered a gift like a cup of water and kola nut. The absence of this gesture should signal to a guest their presence is not much appreciated. In that case, a guest's duty would be to gain their host's trust and demonstrate their value to the community. This quest for considering one a member of a society should not involve intimidation, suppression, or domination. Doing so would be regarded as an insult to a host's pride or dignity (Yayəs). For example, the British colonial administrator's decision to send a troop of colonial police to arrest Bai Bureh, the Themnɛ chief, for challenging their authority, leading to the Hut Tax War, was a sign of disrespect to the Themnɛ people. As such, it is unsurprising that the colonial effort to control or contain people of African descent continues today beyond the continent of Africa.

In recent years, many organizational reports from the United Nations to governmental agencies in Canada have pointed to the systemic racism that people of African descent experience in Canada's criminal justice system, often evident in their disproportionate representation within the system itself (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2022; Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023; Sapers, 2013; The United Nations, 2015; Tulloch, 2018; Zinger, 2021, 2022). For example, the average Black Canadian federal incarceration rate remained above nine percent between 2011-2012 and 2021-2022 (Sapers, 2013; Zinger, 2021, 2022). A similar average also represents the proportion of Black Canadians killed by police between 2017 and 2020(Flanagan, 2020). However, Black Canadians made up only about 4.3 percent of the general population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2023). The Prairie region has the third largest proportion of incarcerated Black Canadians between 18 and 30 years old, especially young Black males (13.6 percent) (Zinger, 2022). As such, this project focuses on Black youth in Southern Alberta to highlight their experiences and amplify their voices.

Generally, we know Black Canadians' experiences with police in Canada from research conducted in Ontario. Very little research on this topic has come from the province of Alberta despite the possibility that racialized police practices tend to cross international, provincial, and municipal borders, evident in the continued demise of Black people at the hands of police whenever the opportunity presents itself (Goldberg, 2009; Pedersen, 2022). The absence of academic research on this topic makes it seem like racialized policing and police violence are non-issues in Alberta when this is not the case, as the existing literature has shown. My unique contribution to the Canadian literature on Black people's experiences with police includes the narratives that come directly from Black youth of all genders and sexual orientations. Through this research, I want to acknowledge that negative police encounters are not limited to Black youth. Nevertheless, the literature has confirmed that they tend to be overrepresented in these encounters even when researchers account for all theoretical factors

in explaining them (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hayle et al., 2016; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022).

While still at its initial stage, race's prominence in criminalizing Black people has resulted in a recent and significant announcement from the Government of Canada. On February 15th, 2023, the Government of Canada announced the long-awaited "Canada's Black Justice Strategy" (Government of Canada, 2023). Following this announcement, Dr. Akwasi Owusu-Bempah and defence lawyer Zilla Jones will work with seven other members to consult with Black communities across Canada. The hope is the development of strategies that could potentially address the overrepresentation of Black Canadians in Canada's criminal justice system. This study could add a Southern Alberta perspective toward developing this national strategy for a fairer legal system for Black Canadians.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

To summarize, the literature indicates race is central in white supremacist societies, like Canada, in how Black people are policed. However, my analysis will take this discussion beyond the predominant approach to argue that Black youth are not experiencing police intimidation and harassment because of their skin colour. Rather we live in a white supremacist, a settler-colonial society where colour-blindness obscures the lived experiences of racialized youth, including Black youth.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design I used to answer the research questions previously identified in Chapter One. I divide this chapter into three sections, including this introduction. In section two, I discuss the research design, including the worldviews that influence the theoretical framework I engage in this project. I further outline my research methodology, sampling and data collection strategies, and analysis techniques and discuss the study's limitations. Lastly, I provide concluding remarks in section three.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.1 Research Philosophy

Scholars have argued that no research is void of a researcher's beliefs and assumptions about what constitutes knowledge and how that knowledge is produced or learned (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; Lincoln et al., 2011; Mertens, 2014; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Tashakkori et al., 2020). Thus, it is essential that I be mindful of the assumptions that I bring to this research project, including how my own worldview shapes the project and my interpretation of it. Specifically, the ways in which my lived experience informs every aspect of my project, from the research design to the methods (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

3.2. Research Philosophical Worldviews

Accordingly, two philosophical worldviews inform this project: transformation and pragmatism. My desire to incorporate activism in my academic work, particularly in addressing anti-Black racism and other forms of discrimination, fits with the philosophical assumptions of a transformative approach to research (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; Mertens, 2014).

3.2.1 Transformative Worldview

I approach teaching from an intersectional perspective. Intersectionality allows me to challenge students to locate themselves within structures of power that often privilege or oppress them based on their assumed or society's assigned identities (Cho et al., 2013; K. Crenshaw, 1989, 1995; Hill Collins, 2019). To demonstrate this practice, I locate myself by identifying how my gender and language proficiency in English privileged me before coming to Canada. I came to English-speaking Canada from a country where English is the primary language of instruction in schools, colleges, and universities because of its shared history of British imperialism with Canada. Imperialism is a Western ideology or practice that extends a state's political, economic, and social control, through force or otherwise, to other nations or groups of people they perceive as inferior (hooks, 2013). The ability to speak English before immigrating to Alberta, Canada, meant that I was privileged by the reduced language barrier I experienced upon arrival, allowing me to continue my educational journey to a doctoral level.

The transformative philosophical perspective holds that the research inquiry must go hand-in-hand with politics and a political agenda to confront racism in society (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Mertens, 2014). As a Black person confronting racism in the classroom, teaching is a form of activism with the power to transform the experiences of Black youth I encounter in the post-secondary educational institutions I am affiliated with in Southern Alberta and beyond.

3.2.2 Pragmatic Worldview

Equally important, I was drawn to a pragmatic paradigm directed to social change as a researcher because I consider myself someone who is problem-solution-centred, pluralistic, and invested in real-world practice (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; Plano Clark & Ivankova,

2016). As a philosophical approach, pragmatism allows me to focus on revealing the outcomes for Black Canadian youth who interact with police through multiple means. Creswell and Creswell (2018) note "pragmatism opens the door to multiple methods, different worldviews, and different assumptions, as well as different forms of data collection and analysis" (p. 10) in the search of what works to addressing social issues. It therefore became important to me to garner Black Canadian youth's perceptions of their experiences with police. In order to do this, I created an online survey and conducted semi-structured interviews, a mixed methods approach to revealing the social realities of Black Canadian youth in Southern Alberta. While pragmatism is often associated with mixed methods, Tashakkori et al. (2020) support using transformative and pragmatic worldviews together to study and transform social disparities. The ways that police engage in the differential treatment of Black people in Canada are exemplary of greater structural inequalities within Canadian society. This needs to be transformed to ensure that Black Canadians are not treated inequitably by police (Aylward, 1999; Maynard, 2017; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021).

According to Creswell and Creswell (2018) pragmatists also agree that "research always occurs in social, historical, political and other contexts" (p. 10). This point is essential, especially when researching anti-Black racism in white supremacist societies where the history of anti-Black racism, which can be linked to this country's history of slavery, tend to be denied or, at best, minimized (Aylward, 1999; Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021). More so, I am researching the experiences of a racialized group within a province where political leaders outrightly deny the seriousness of their experiences with racial discrimination (de Castillo, 2022; French, 2022). Additionally, this research occurs in a time when Black and racialized Canadians and Indigenous Peoples in Canada are refusing to accept the racial status quo of subordination and their premature deaths either from state officials or

individuals with white supremacist beliefs ideologies (K. W. Crenshaw, 2020; Walcott, 2021).

3.3 Research Theoretical Framework

This dissertation draws upon Critical Race Theory (CRT) to provide a theoretical and methodological framework for understanding the historical and present events that continue to shape the interactions of Black Canadians with state sanctioned institutions in this country. CRT was developed in the United States as an academic field in the 1980s. Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (2002, 1988) and Richard Delgado (2013) trace this development to two interrelated factors. Firstly, it follows the realization of a group of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars of colour that they needed new theories to explain and combat the subtle, unconscious, and institutional racism manifesting, stalling, and even retrenching the gains of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, in the U.S. (K. W. Crenshaw, 1988, 2002; Delgado, 2013a; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Secondly, they sought to address the failure of Critical Legal Studies (CLS) scholars to acknowledge "racism as a central ideological underpinning of American society" (K. W. Crenshaw, 1988, p. 1336) which continues to undermine the advances of the civil rights movement.

Indeed, Canada and the U.S. are politically, socially, and culturally different; however, these countries share a similar history of imperial colonialism that facilitated the subordination and exploitation of Black people, unique to each country, from past to present. For instance, while plantation slavery was unique to the U.S., slavery in Canada became domestic slavery (Aylward, 1999; Cooper, 2007; Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Maynard, 2017; Thornhill, 2008; Walcott, 2021; Walker, 1992). Goldberg's (2009) work draws our attention away from this kind of Canadian exceptionalism and asks us to view Black people's experiences in countries like Canada and the U.S. from a relational rather than a comparative perspective. When viewed from a relational

perspective, we can see that the racial configuration (White Superiority-Black inferiority) and racist conditions that Black people are subjected to in the U.S. persist in Canada, though expressed in the most Canadian way (Goldberg, 2009; Nath, 2021). Canada's subtle expression of racism, from employment and education to criminal justice policies (war on drugs) and social interactions, often minimize the impacts of these forms of racism in addition to obscuring the realities of overt, state-sanctioned racist violence and murder because Canadians are viewed as polite and friendly.

For this project, I define CRT as a body of legal and critical scholars who are dedicated to examining the intricate intersection of race, law, society and power in shaping others' political, economic and social outcomes in society (Bell, 2005c; K. W. Crenshaw, 2002; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The following postulates generally guide Crits in their analysis of these intersections.

Firstly, Crits believe race is a social construct with no biological underpinning but has real meaning, and social, political, economic, and legal consequences for those classified as Black in white supremacist societies. Secondly, they contend that racism is pervasive and a daily experience of racialized others in the community but goes unacknowledged, making it challenging to eradicate. Racism is also difficult to end because it awards psychological and material benefits to Whites, including feeling superior to Blacks through access to better education and employment opportunities (Aylward, 1999; Bell, 2005a; K. W. Crenshaw, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Therefore, racism is not a matter of individual acts of meanness; instead, it is embedded in the structures and practices of various societal institutions (Valdes et al., 2002), to which the criminal justice, education, and child welfare systems are no exceptions. Thirdly, Crits' argue that the law is not ahistorical nor void of context; therefore, we can link, for instance, Black people's continued experiences with racial discrimination to the historical application of the law that reduces members of these communities to property (Matsuda et al., 1993).

In other words, enslaving people of African descent was a legal endeavour. Fourth, Crits challenges the assumptions of neutrality, objectivity, meritocracy, and colour-blindness in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda et al., 1993). For example, I always thought the more education I got, the better my chances for promotion or attaining dream jobs, as one should expect in a society based on merit. That may be true for those who identify as White in a white supremacist society. In my case, it was not until the third year of my Ph.D. program that I realized that educational achievement does not always work in your favour for a Black person. Perceived colour-blindness or race neutrality makes it hard today to address insidious forms of racism that tend to impact racialized persons.

Further, Crits recognize that, for instance, Black people often experienced racial subordination in tandem with other forms of oppression based on one's identified gender, sexuality, sexual orientation or class, age, ability, ethnicity, and accent, to name a few. Therefore, they promote an interdisciplinary-multiple-methods approach in their works (Cho et al., 2013; K. Crenshaw, 1989; Valdes et al., 2002). Thus, the findings in this project have criminological, cultural, political, sociological, historical, and legal studies disciplinary implications, to name a few. Finally, Crits insist on recognizing the experiential knowledge of people of colour and our communities of origin in analyzing law and society. This knowledge is gained from critical reflection on the lived experience of racism and from critical reflection upon active political practices toward eliminating racism (Lawrence III et al., 1993, p. 6). As a methodological and epistemological tool capable of exposing how race and racism operate in law and society, CRT thereby helps reveal the historical, ideological, and psychological contexts within which racism operates in society and its various institutions (Parker & Lynn, 2002).

3.3.1 Research Methods

A researcher's philosophical worldview informs their research, influencing the research practice and chosen research approach (Creswell, 2014). For example, my worldviews about the social realities of Black people, including the premature deaths of Black youth, have influenced my choice to explore my research questions using a Critical Race Mixed Methods (CRMM) approach, with a convergent mixed methods design that involves a perception survey and semi-structured qualitative interviews(Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2019; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Tashakkori et al., 2020).

3.3.2 Critical Race Mixed Methodology (CRMM)Defined

Decuir-Gunby and Schutz (2019) define CRMM as a "Mixed methods inquiry, influenced by one's theoretical perspective, [it] involves the collecting and analyzing of both quantitative and qualitative data within one study and, when applicable, is used to address issues of power" (p. 169). CRMM is different from a traditional MMR approach in that researchers drawn to CRMM centralize race, racism, and power. In this study, my decision to centralize race, racism and power is evident from the conception of the research questions to the design, analysis, interpretation, and integration of the research data (Decuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2019). Decuir-Gunby and Schutz contend the integration of the data is the most crucial step in any approach to CRMM in that the integration process should not solely focus on a project's general findings but must serve to support the broader CRT tenets stated earlier.

3.3.2.1 Inclusion-Exclusion Criteria

This project highlights the lived experiences of youth between the ages of 16 and 30 who self-identify as Black or have African ancestry, irrespective of their gender and sexual orientation, from their interactions with police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Brooks. I limited participation in the

study to meet specific criteria in addition to the above self-identification. Firstly, participants must have lived in those four Alberta cities for the last four years. My four-year limit was meant to collect a sample of these experiences within the length of my program of study. Nonetheless, this decision might have impacted the number of participants in this study, eliminating those whose interactions with police occurred beyond this period. This geographical limitation narrowed the scope of the study due to the time and resources available to me. Secondly, participants must have had direct interactions, witnessed, or known someone who had interacted with the police within the study's period. Thirdly, they were required to speak or comprehend English to maintain their privacy. Using an interpreter could have compromised the privacy of interviewed participants who could not understand English. Self-identified Black youth who did not meet the abovementioned conditions were excluded from participating in the study.

3.3.2.2 Sampling Techniques

I used a purposive sampling approach, a non-probability sampling technique, as part of my recruitment. This sampling approach relies on a researcher's judgement in selecting participants based on their knowledge of the targeted population and research aims (Maxfield & Babbie, 2017; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). According to Teddlie and Yu (2007), "purposive sampling leads to greater depth of information from a smaller number of carefully selected cases" (p. 83). The research focuses on eliciting stories from Black youth between the ages of 16 and 30 about their interactions with police in Southern Alberta. This decision was deliberate for the unique knowledge we could gain from their own perspectives of their interactions with police. Black youth tend to attract negative police attention (Brunson & Pegram, 2018; Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011), but the outcomes of their interactions are often different compared to

White youth, as previous research in other geographic areas has shown (Maynard, 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2022; Walcott, 2021; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022).

I also considered using snowball sampling in conjunction with purposive sampling. Snowball sampling is a technique where an interviewed participant connects you with their networks (Maxfield & Babbie, 2017; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). However, this approach was not viable because police interactions tend to be personal and embarrassing for some, irrespective of whether they have committed a crime. Therefore, using purposive sampling was appropriate for this project and allowed me to recruit participants continuously throughout the study period.

3.3.2.3 Recruitment

I recruited participants for the study through digital and physical recruitment posters approved by the UofA Health Research Ethics Board and Lethbridge College Research Ethics Board. The digital recruitment campaign involved sending recruitment emails, attached here as Appendix A, to the leaders of more than 30 not-for-profit Community Organizations, including Black Community Associations, University and College student clubs, Professors, Instructors, varsity coaches and social agencies serving youth in Southern Alberta. I also used social media platforms like LinkedIn, Instagram, and Facebook to recruit participants. I believe most of my participants were Instagram users. Similarly, Appendix B was a sample of printed posters mounted on community notice boards at colleges, universities, libraries, Black business spaces, and sports and recreational centres, mainly in Calgary, Lethbridge, and Medicine Hat.

3.4 Data Collection

I collected my quantitative and qualitative data concurrently between March 2022 and February 2023. I discuss my data collection processes below, starting with the quantitative data collection processes.

3.4.1 Quantitative (quant, hereafter) Data Collection, Preparation and Analysis

The quant data collection involved a self-administered anonymous online perception survey hosted on Qualtrics. Qualtrics is a survey software licensed by the University of Lethbridge that researchers can use for data collection purposes. The study's survey questions explore Black youth's perceptions of police, their sense of belonging, their perception of safety in their neighbourhoods and the nature of their interactions with police in the last four years. For example, I used a modified version of the Perception of Police Survey (POPS)scale. Nadal and Davidoff (2015) developed and validated the POPS scale, which contains 12 statements to measure research participants' general attitudes towards police and their perception of bias. Using a Likert scale from 1-5, where one represented strongly agree, and five strongly disagree, I asked participants to indicate the extent of their agreement with statements like "The police are trustworthy" (general attitude) and "Police officers are unbiased" (perception of bias) (Nadal et al., 2017; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015). I attached this survey instrument and the invitation to participation letter and consent as Appendix C and D, respectively, to this dissertation. I have also attached as Appendixes E and F the parent or guardian consent letter and assent for a minor that I had created if I had prospective participants under 18; nonetheless, all participants in this study were over 18.

The survey contained 42 closed and open-ended questions, organized into eight main blocks to simultaneously collect quantitative and qualitative (QUAL[11], hereafter) data. Those eligible to participate could complete the online survey, the in-depth semi-structured interview, or both. In-depth interviews gather a participant's "experiences, attitudes, feelings, and definitions of the situation in their own terms and in ways that are meaningful to them" (Van den

[11] Using uppercase for the abbreviated QUAL suggests the study's data is qualitative dominant (Decuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2019).

Hoonaard, 2019, p. 105). This study attempts to allow Black youth to narrate their experiences with police in Southern Alberta on their terms.

3.4.1.1 Description of the Online Survey Respondents

Table 1
Frequencies of Survey Respondents' Age, Gender, and City of Residence

		Age Group							
		16-19		20-24			25-30		
		Gender		Gender			Gender		
		F	M	F	M	NB	F	M	Total
City	Calgary	3	1	3	2		4	2	15
	Lethbridge	5	2	1	1	1	3	2	15
	Brooks	1			1				2
	Medicine Hat			1					1
	Other			2					2
	Total	9	3	7	4	1	7	4	35

Note. Generated from Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). F = Female, M = Male, NB = non-binary.

An overwhelming majority (66 percent, n=23) of the survey respondents identified as female, 31 percent (n=11) as male, and 3 percent (n=1) as non-binary, shown in Table 1 above. Black youth from Lethbridge (n=15) and Calgary (n=15) each represented 43 percent (N=35) of the survey respondents. At the same time, those from Brooks, Medicine Hat, and others (in transition from Lethbridge to Calgary) accounted for 14 percent (n=5) of the survey respondents in total. Survey respondents were almost equally distributed across the three age categories of this study. Respondents between 16-19 and 20-24 represented 34 percent of each of the respondents to the online survey, while 31 percent were between the ages of 25-30. Moreover, a third or 31 percent, of the respondents identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, two-spirit or persons with a queer sexual orientation (LGBTQ+) (n=11), and 60 percent (21) were current students at the time of data collection.

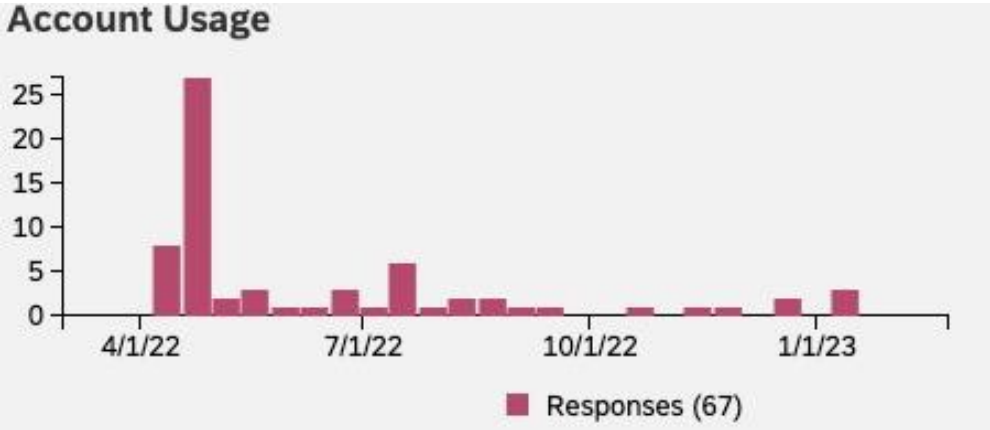
3.4.1.2 Quant Data Preparation

I pulled the survey responses recorded between March 2022 and February 2023 from Qualtrics to prepare the data for analysis. This preparation process involved the removal of 32 responses from the dataset that were not pertinent to the overall goal of my study. For instance, in response to a survey question asking participants what type of interaction (for example, school resource

officer, pedestrian or motorist) with police they might have had police, a participant responded by stating: "Reward survey will be back from a couple of weeks before we get."

I also excluded survey responses that I believe were completed at odd times of the day, especially around 2:00 am, before July 2022. As shown in Table 2 below, the April survey response rate was inconsistent with the responses recorded from July 2022 to February 2023. My survey was vulnerable to Bot attacks between March 2022 and July 2022. Until July 2022, the University of Lethbridge's subscription package did not include Qualtrics' Bot detection security feature to help prevent or flag Bot-completed surveys.

Table 2
Monthly Rate of Survey Response



Satisfied with data cleaning, I separated the QUAL data gathered through the survey from the Quant data and uploaded it to Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for analysis.

3.4.1.3 Quant Data Analysis

I analyzed the perception survey data by running two descriptive and one inferential statistical test on SPSS (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2006; Noack, 2018). I ran frequency distribution tests to summarize the demographic data in the dataset, reported earlier under the description of participants. I also completed a descriptive statistics test which involved various crosstabulation analyses to examine the relationships between, for example,

gender and age at first contact with police and more. I subsequently conducted an inferential statistical test, specifically Spearman's (rho) rank-order correlation coefficient, to determine the relationships between variables (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2006; Noack, 2018).

Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficient is a "non-parametric measure of association that provides information about the strength and direction of the monotonic relationship between two variables" (Noack, 2018, p. 329). The strength and direction of the relationship between these variables can range from a perfect positive (+1) association to a perfect negative (-1) association and a zero would indicate the non-existence of a relationship between the variables in question (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2006; Noack, 2018). Spearman's coefficient correlation test was appropriate for my dataset given the survey responses were based on a Likert scale and measured at the ordinal level of measurement on SPSS (Frankfort-Nachmias & Leon-Guerrero, 2006; Noack, 2018). There are variations in how researchers usually report the strengths of the relationships between variables in their studies (Noack, 2018). For my purpose, a Spearman correlation coefficient of 0.3, 0.5, and 0.7 would indicate a weak, moderate, and strong association between the variables under examination (Noack, 2018). For example, I examined the relationship between the city of residence and the frequency of contact between Black youth and police. I found a moderate negative association between the city and the frequency of contact with police, as shown in Chapter Five.

3.4.2 QUAL Data Collection, Preparation and Analysis

I used an interview guide during the interviews, which contained basic demographic and probing questions to allow participants to share their stories. For example, I asked participants at the beginning of each interview to confirm their age, gender, level of education and city of residence with the following questions:

1. Which age group best represents you?
2. Which gender do you identify with?
3. What is your level of education?
4. Which city have you lived in?

Afterward, I asked participants the following questions to tell their stories as they saw fit: Have you had interactions or contact with police in the last four years? What was the nature of the interaction? A sample of the probing questions connected with those two questions were: What was your experience from that interaction? How did this affect you? How did you cope? How has this experience impacted your sense of belonging as a citizen or resident of your city, province, and Canada? The interview guide is attached as Appendix G in this dissertation.

Interviewed participants either contacted me directly by filling out a Microsoft Form, with their contact information or connected with me through community leaders. I had all participants digitally sign a consent letter, attached as Appendix H, via DocuSign at their leisure. Participant consent must be completed before setting up an interview date and time. DocuSign automatically sent copies of the signed consent forms to each participant after my signature. I also prepared an oral consent script, attached as Appendix I, which I did not use during this study.

Twelve Black youth volunteered to participate in the interviews; however, only eleven were eligible for participation because of the 30 years old age limit for participation. The target was to interview 15 participants. I conducted the last interview on this data collection aspect for this study in January 2023. Ten of these interviews were through telephone, Zoom, and Microsoft Teams, and one was conducted in person at a safe COVID-19 distance to honour the participant’s request. The interviews ranged from 30 minutes to an hour. At the beginning of each interview, I informed each participant of my duty as a researcher to report law violations, like child abuse. I also reminded participants they were not obliged to answer any questions and could have

terminated an interview at any time. Nevertheless, this study did not probe participants' past or present involvement in activities that could be considered crimes under the Criminal Code of Canada. This study only explored their experiences with police in Southern Alberta.

3.4.2.1 QUAL Interviewees

As shown in Table 3 below, all interviewed participants (N=11) were from Calgary and Lethbridge, with six interviewees from Calgary and five in the Lethbridge area. The majority (55 percent, n=6) of the youth interviewed identified as female. Similarly, 64 percent (n=7) were between the ages of 25-30, and 36 percent (n=4) were between the ages of 16-19 (n=2) and 20-24 (n=2), in total. All Black female youth aged 25-30 I interviewed were from Calgary, and none were from Lethbridge.

Table 3
Age, Gender, and City of Residence of Interviewees

Data Source	Age Group	Gender	City of Residence		Count
			Calgary	Lethbridge & Area	
Interviews	16-19	Female	1	1	2
	20-24	Male		1	1
		Female		1	1
	25-30	Male	2	2	4
		Female	3		3
Totals			6	5	11

Note: Researcher created.

3.4.2.2 QUAL Data Preparation

I transcribed all interviews verbatim, but omitted information that could identify a participant. This exclusion included instances where a participant used their real name and named a neighbourhood or community that they could be identified with during an interview. Participants could have contacted me two weeks after their interviews to review their transcripts for accuracy. I did not receive a specific request from the participants interviewed for this purpose. I uploaded the transcribed interview files into NVivo for analysis.

3.4.2.3 QUAL Data Analysis

Braun and Clarke (2013) assert that thematic analysis involves four stages: transcription, reading and familiarization, coding, and searching for themes in the data. Using thematic analysis, I analyzed 37 cases that I created from the data uploaded into NVivo. Each case represented a participant: twenty-six from the survey data and eleven from the interview participants. Table 4 below presents the demographics of the combined cases analyzed in NVivo, were consistent with survey data and interviews, most cases (62 percent, n=23) represented female participants. Black female youth from Calgary accounted for 52 percent (n=12) of cases and 35 percent (n=8) from Lethbridge, as shown in Table 4 below. Participants aged 25-30 were more likely to volunteer to be interviewed and provided QUAL data through the survey in this study. This age group accounted for 43 percent of all cases analyzed in NVivo.

Table 4: Demographics and Count of Cases Analysed in NVivo

Table 4

Demographics and Count of Cases Analyzed in NVivo

City	Gender	Age Group			Count
		16-19	20-24	25-30	
Calgary	Female	3	2	7	12
	Male	1	2	3	6
	Female	4	2	2	8
Lethbridge	Male	1	2	4	7
	Non-binary		1		1
Brooks	Female	1			1
Medicine Hat	Female		1		1
Other	Female		1		1
Totals		10(27%)	11(30%)	16(43%)	37(100%)

Note: Researcher created.

This data preparation process, including conducting and transcribing the interviews, was part of the first three stages of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The fourth stage of thematic analysis involved coding the data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Codes and processing of coding help detect patterns or themes as they emerge from the data, and there are various approaches to coding (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2013; Saldaña, 2016). Narrative and value

coding are two examples of the various coding methods employed in this project (Saldaña, 2016). Saldaña (2016) defines a code as a word or short phrase that "symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (p. 4).

The codes in this project have come from words or phrases that participants used when describing their interactions with the police in Southern Alberta. For example, I used "Flippant" as a subcode to code instances where participants felt a police officer was dismissive during their interactions. A participant, Charity, used "flippant" to describe her experience in her attempt to seek assistance from the police. Charity states:

> …I guess that they often won't be there to help when you have to call…at home and call, and a lot of time they were very like, flippant or dismissive, not eager to help.

I should note Charity is not the actual name of the participant who shared the statement above. Participants in this study had the opportunity to choose pseudonyms at the beginning of their interviews. Therefore, the names used in this dissertation are not their actual names. The narrative coding approach shows the stories of the lived experiences of research participants. In contrast, value coding highlights their values, attitudes, beliefs, and worldviews on a topic of interest. This hybrid inductive coding approach was suitable for exploring Black youth's experiences with police in Southern Alberta from their perspective. Coding is cyclical, time-consuming, and not an exact science; nonetheless, this process moves qualitative data from codes, categories, themes, and sub-themes to theorizing when done systematically (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2013; Saldaña, 2016).

I began my coding process by going through each transcribed interview line by line to familiarize myself with the data after transcription. I then repeated the process for a second time and started coding phrases and paragraphs. I began categorizing the data in about my third and fourth coding cycles. I continued refining this process and identified the following five themes: Responses,

Policing, White Supremacy, Belonging and Intersections. In Chapter four and five, I present details of these themes and findings from the quant data. The data analysis process continued by integrating the quant and QUAL datasets results.

3.5 Data integration

Tashakkori et al. (2020) note an effective convergent design is one where "data collection and analysis are linked to each other, in some form" (p. 123). This integration is demonstrated in appendix B, which is attached to this dissertation.

3.5.1 Diagram of Procedures

Figure 2: A Diagram of Procedures

this analysis consisted of the actual merging of both the quant and QUAL findings. I have achieved this integration by comparing the results from both datasets side-by-side and confirming that the QUAL themes noted above are congruent with the statistical results from the quant analysis (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In keeping with the traditions of a CRMM methodology, my integrated data analysis centred on a Counter-Storytelling approach.

Crits recognize that truth is perceptual and that, as Delgado (2013) indicates, one can describe a single event in multiple ways, an accurate account of which is based on one's social or moral realities. For instance, I considered the intersection of race and speaking with an accent as factors in my unsuccessful attempts to secure a permanent senior probation officer position. Others involved in the selection process for the vacancies I had applied for may have a different explanation of those outcomes. Crits acknowledge that the perspectives and viewpoints of marginalized people, including people of colour,

are vital for understanding and addressing their everyday experiences with racism and other forms of discrimination. They gather these lived experiences through CRT's methodology of Storytelling and Counter-Storytelling (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Counter-storytelling is the language that helps us identify and name patterns and relationships of power in white supremacist societies. In such societies, histories of subordination, oppression, and suppression linked to slavery, (settler) colonialism, and their continued impacts on the racialized, can be seen in the disproportionate incarceration of Black people, for instance, yet, they are frequently considered irrelevant to lived experience when the opposite is true(Delgado, 2013b; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Parker & Lynn, 2002; Crt: Counter-Storytelling, 2020). Race still matters and often determines who gets charged, convicted, and sentenced to prison (Alexander, 2012; Maynard, 2017; Roberts & Doob, 1997; Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023).

Critical scholars such as Bell (2005), Delgado, Parker and Lynn (2002), and Solórzano and Yosso (2002) have identified some of the functions of stories in their works. For instance, according to Parker and Lynn (2002), stories allow us to see the world from others' perspective, especially those who experience racism and racial discrimination daily, as well as help us connect present experiences with past experiences to reveal the inner workings of racial hierarchy in society. For example, considering the works of settler colonial theorists (Veracini, 2010 and Wolfe, 2006) previously discussed, the colonial project will never end in Canada as long as Indigenous Peoples remain in this land (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Bell (2005) notes stories help to uncover a more layered reality of what it means to be a Black or an Indigenous person in a white supremacist society that may not immediately be apparent to others. That your label as a criminal, thug, gang member, and violent, among others, is not accidental but intentional to continue your domination, in the case of Black Canadians, and disconnection to the land for Indigenous Peoples. Counter-storytelling helps see the connection between the historical and present-day

practices of Black subordination, sustained by white supremacy, here in Canada and beyond.

For this reason, Delgado and Stefancic, (2017) indicate stories are powerful means for destroying ideologies, including White-superiority and Black-inferiority myths. Stories also create bonds, cohesion, shared understanding, and meanings among the suppressed and devalued in society(Delgado, 2013b). For instance, a Black youth from Lethbridge would know they are not alone in their experiences with differential police treatment when they read of others' experiences from Calgary. Storytelling and Counter-Storytelling aid in our explicit naming of the historical and current practices that deny and restrict access to opportunities and power, the patterns of the people that tend to experience those restrictions and the stories that tend to reinforce them (Crt: Counter-Storytelling, 2020). In other words, Storytelling and Counter-storytelling validate the experiences of racialized and marginalized others in society. This analytic framework will guide my analysis of the findings from this study.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

I addressed reliability and validity in this project with an acute consciousness that the study explored a phenomenon that others may deny in the context within which it occurs – racism is often assumed to be a thing of the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Razack, 2000). This denial then impacts how society perceives the trustworthiness of stories of experiences with racism and the people who share those stories, including their accusation of being racists themselves (Mills, 1997).

3.6.1 Reliability

Nevertheless, reliability in a research context involves considering whether findings from a study could be replicated by others using the same instrument or measurement tools at a different point in time (Creswell, 2014;

Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Gogo & Musonda, 2022; Ihantola & Kihn, 2011; Tashakkori et al., 2020). This perspective points to the importance of consistency in a researcher's data collection, preparation, analysis and integration (Boyatzis, 1998). The attached Appendices to this document show examples of the processes I have followed during this research. However, replication of the findings from this study is not a goal because participants' stories are unique to them and can change based on their situations at the time of data collection. In addition, my worldviews and the identities I have embodied in Canada have certainly influenced my interpretation of the data and, to some extent, access to research participants.

Mixed methods research allows researchers to triangulate their findings on a particular research topic (Creswell, 2014; Ihantola & Kihn, 2011; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Thus, the triangulation of Black youth's experiences with police from the quant and QUAL datasets help improve the reliability of this project. Nonetheless, Ihantola and Kihn (2011) warn that delays in taking interview notes and a researcher's relationship with research participants, among other things, could pose a threat to a study's reliability. I recorded all interviews and transcribed them verbatim to help minimize the threat to the accuracy of the interview notes. As outlined earlier, I am a member of the community I was researching with experience in law enforcement, and a father to Black youth. These identities situate me well to reveal the lived experiences of Black youth. Therefore, the relationships that I may have developed with the youth encountered during this research project strengthen rather than threaten the reliability of this data.

3.6.2 Validity

While reliability is a concern within data collection processes, validity is a concern with data creditability, and there are different types of validities in research, including construct and content validity (Creswell, 2014; Creswell

& Creswell, 2018; Gogo & Musonda, 2022; Tashakkori et al., 2020). Data validity, also known as the trustworthiness, authenticity and credibility in QUAL research, comes into question when there are concerns about whether an instrument is measuring what it was intended to measure accurately within the context of a study (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Tashakkori et al., 2020). In other words, can the conclusions a researcher draws from their data be trusted (Ihantola & Kihn, 2011)? Thus, there is a relationship between reliability and validity. If a project's data collection methods are questionable, the conclusion drawn from that data may not be considered credible (Ihantola & Kihn, 2011).

Tashakkori et al. (2020) define content validity as "the degree to which the questions, tasks, or items on a test purporting to measure something … are an adequate sample of the construct domain of interest" (p. 199). To ensure content validity in my study, I counted only completed submitted responses to reduce missing data (Gogo & Musonda, 2022). Additionally, the questions from the quant and QUAL datasets were designed to cover the various interaction points between Black youth and the police to highlight the extent of their experiences. I connected with some Black youth I interviewed, who validated the accuracy of their stories presented in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

Related to a researcher's relationship with participants being a threat to a study's reliability, a researcher must acknowledge the bias they bring to the study to promote validity in their research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). However, Bell's (1992, 2005) rules of racial standing suggest that objectivity tends to be associated with whiteness, especially where Black people's criminal justice experiences are concerned. As a Black researcher, my work would be perceived as credible, objective, or valid if my analysis supports and promotes the dominant narrative of a society's colour-blind approach to dealing with racialized others (Bell, 1992, 2005b). As such, the outright perception of the credibility of this work would be an anomaly.

A study's sample size can also pose a threat to its validity and the generalizability of the findings (Ihantola & Kihn, 2011). This project's sample is non-randomized and small to allow me to highlight the rich contexts of Black youth's experiences with police in Southern Alberta. Therefore, the findings from this project cannot be generalized beyond the participants within the study. However, the generalizability of the findings from this study was not an objective of this project; my objective was instead to validate and amplify the experiences and voices of the Black youth who participated in the study. Most importantly, I took a general but contextualized approach to producing knowledge about Black youth's experiences with police in Southern Alberta (Tashakkori et al., 2020). This approach will help "practitioners to understand what works, for whom, and in what contexts" in their attempt to reduce negative Black Canadian youth- Police interactions (Tashakkori et al., 2020, p. 195).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical research requires me to consider the potential harm to my research participants and consider them as co-producers of knowledge and engage in ongoing reflexive research practices to ensure their well-being throughout the research process (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Peers, 2018; TallBear, 2014; Tuck, 2009). As a result, I periodically checked in with my research participants, especially during the interviews, to ensure their emotional well-being. Some participants felt relieved to finally be able to talk about their experiences with someone upon doing so. This check-in was also an opportunity for me to remind them of their rights to end the interview at any point they are no longer willing to continue with the process.

Additionally, reflexivity in a research practice suggests my ethical responsibilities go beyond protecting my co-knowledge producers' privacy as required by institutional ethics, among other ethical requirements for research involving human participants. Engaging in reflexive research practice would

allow me to be prepared and sensitized to the possibility of having to deal with an ethically critical moment (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). For example, as a researcher and former law enforcement official, I was aware of my ethical and legal obligation under the Tri-Council Policy Statement 2: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans policy to report any law violation, especially child abuse(Tri-Council, 2019). I informed all participants of this responsibility at the beginning of each interview to minimize the occurrence of an ethically critical moment, which includes reporting law violations to an appropriate authority (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

According to Guillemin and Gillam (2004), ethically important moments are often tricky, "subtle, and usually unpredictable situations that arise in the practice of doing research" (p. 262). For instance, an ethnically important moment in this project would be a participant disclosing being a victim of physical abuse at their family home but wishing not to report the incident to the police for fear of the outcome if police were to be involved for their family member. Guillemin and Gillam further note ethically important moments are about the obligations of a researcher towards their research participants, including interacting with them in a humane, nonexploitative way while at the same time being mindful of their role as researchers. Therefore, in this hypothetical situation, I could report the participant's alleged victimization against their will and self-justify my action as my duty as a researcher by doing what I might have thought was best for them. This action might promote my credibility as a researcher, a decision that I would consider exploitative. TallBear (2014) contends, "A researcher who is willing to learn how to "stand with" a community of subjects is willing to be altered, to revise [their] stakes in the knowledge to be produced" (p. 2). Considering enacted Canadian laws often represent the interests of few, generally white-middle-class people, choosing to stand with my community of subjects would be to respect the wishes of my participant by not reporting their self-disclosed alleged victimization. My

stake should not be about promoting my credibility as a researcher but supporting my participants as they want to be supported. This was a primary reason for informing all participants of my duty as a researcher to report law violations to the appropriate authorities to avoid being in that situation.

I offered an insignificant amount in the form of digital Tim Horton gift cards as a token of my appreciation for the participants' willingness to share their experiences with me in this project. A participant could have received a maximum value of $20 in gift cards in Canadian funds. Nevertheless, only interviewed participants were guaranteed a $10 gift card. Online survey participants had to enter a draw for one of the ten available gift cards, with the odds of winning being one out of fifty. I selected winning participants via random draws using Wheel-decide.com. Completing a survey was not a requirement for the draw entry.

3.8 Limitations

There are inherent limitations to any research one undertakes, from time restrictions to budgetary constraints and methodological challenges. This study is no exception (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; Decuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2019; McKim, 2017; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016; Thaler, 2017).

3.8.1 Methodological Limitations

This study involved a non-probability sampling approach that limits generalizing the findings from this project beyond its contributing participants. In particular, the findings are limited to the perspectives of Black youth from Calgary, Lethbridge and the self-identified females who comprised the bulk of the study's participants. Nonetheless, the over-representation of Black female youth, especially amongst the survey respondents in this study, should be seen as a Counter-Narrative to the often-gendered focus on Black male youth's experiences with police(Alcoff, 2009; Clandinin et al.,

2016; Maynard, 2017) and many of the kinds of experiences that participants described in this study are also reflected in the research that has already been conducted in other jurisdictions. This has prompted campaigns like #SayHerName to highlight Black women's experiences with police violence, particularly in the U.S. (Crenshaw, 2023; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; The African American Policy Forum, 2020). In this study, the disproportionate representation of Black female youth shows that policing is experienced differently by Black male and female youth in Black communities in Southern Alberta. The number of Black youth who identified as belonging to an LGBTQ+ community was smaller than I would have liked, 31 percent (N=35). I would consider seeking and connecting with leaders of these communities sooner if I were to engage in a similar project to build trust and hopefully increase participation from this community in Southern Alberta.

3.8.2 Time limitations

This study is also limited by the lack of adequate data collection and analysis time, which I experienced as a PhD student. I collected the project's data within 11 months; however, considering the nature of the research topic, more than a year of data collection would have been better. Time would have allowed me to cultivate relationships and gain the trust of potential participants (Mertens, 2014; Twine & Warren, 2000). I asked participants to trust me and share their potentially emotional experiences and interactions with police. Therefore, more time to gain their trust directly or indirectly through their community leaders would have been vital in increasing the number of participants willing to tell their stories and participate in the survey.

Similarly, conducting the analysis once interview and survey data are collected using a mixed methods research (MMR) approach is time-consuming, from the point of data collection to preparation and analysis (Creswell, 2014; McKim, 2017; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016). Although I had worked with SPSS and NVivo

in previous research projects, this was my first time working with both software programs simultaneously within a single project. I underestimated the time required to separately prepare and analyze the data and merge the findings reported in this dissertation. As such, MMR approach may not promote proficiency in quant or QUAL research methods as a solo researcher where time constraint is a factor.

3.8.3 CRMM – A Novel Approach

However, MMR combined with CRT methodology, is a rigorous, crucial and valuable approach to creating a complete picture of the complex social issues and power relations that come with racial domination in white supremacist societies (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Decuir-Gunby et al., 2019; Decuir-Gunby & Schutz, 2019; McKim, 2017; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016). This project is the first in Canada to deploy a CRMM approach in exploring the experiences of Black youth with police. This approach allowed me to centralize race and contextualize the intersecting experiences of racism that the youth from Southern Alberta who participated in the study were willing to share. Nevertheless, centralizing race limited my chance to compare the experiences of Black youth with those of other racialized youth, and White youth in Southern Alberta.

3.8.4 Budgetary Limitation

Connected to the time constraint of this study are budgetary or financial constraints. Financial limitations prevented me from adequately compensating research participants for their time within acceptable research ethics. This constraint also prevented me from considering hiring a research assistant to assist with data collection. MMR often requires a team to help with data collection, pointing to the importance of having a working budget to hire research assistants (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; McKim, 2017; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016). Hiring a Black youth with connections to the community as a

research assistant in Brooks and Medicine Hat, for instance, could have increased the study's participation rate in those cities because of their familiarity with their community. Financial constraints also limited my ability to travel to these cities to meet with Black community leaders for recruitment purposes. Although conducting this research during COVID-19 allowed me to interview participants from Calgary without travelling. However, connection issues sometimes made it difficult to hear some participants clearly.

3.8.5 Sampling Limitation

Finally, I targeted my recruitment campaigns toward participants with an online presence on Instagram, Facebook, LinkedIn, or Twitter, effectively excluding potential participants without these platforms. Additionally, an enquiry from a potential participant on whether I could offer an honorarium beyond the maximum $20 in Canadian funds a participant could receive in appreciation of their time suggests a higher amount could have also increased the study's participation rate. These limitations are worth considering by future researchers interested in exploring Black youth's experiences using a CRMM approach when planning and designing their research projects.

3.9 Concluding Remarks

I engaged a CRMM approach with a concurrent mixed method design, with Storytelling, Counter-storytelling, and an Intersectional framework to explore and analyze the experiences of Black youth ages 16 and 30. I simultaneously collected quantitative and qualitative data through surveys and interviews from March 2022 to February 2023 to answer this project's four research questions. I was interested in exploring how Black youth's interactions and experiences with police influence their sense of belonging in Southern Alberta. Secondly, I wanted to know whether their place of residence or the semblance of being out of place influenced their interactions with police. I was also interested in exploring the extent to which their experiences differ from those of the Black

youth who had participated in studies focussed on Ontario and larger U.S. cities. Finally, I wanted to probe into how their identified gender influenced their interactions and experiences with police. I used SPSS to analyze the quant data and NVivo for the QUAL data analysis. I present the integrated findings from these datasets in Chapters Four and Five below.

CHAPTER 4: BEING BLACK in SOUTHERN ALBERTA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a sample of the Black youth's stories gathered for this project. I organized the chapter into six sections, including this section where I have provided this brief introduction. In section two, I present the stories of Black youth encountering police as motorists. This section also highlights their experiences with aggressive and intimidating police attitudes. In section three, I reveal Black youth's experiences with racial profiling and excessive use of force as pedestrians in Southern Alberta. In section four, I offer a sample of cases where Black youth thought police did not investigate their alleged crimes thoroughly. In section five, I briefly discuss the meaning I gather from the stories presented in this chapter. Finally, in section six, I add concluding remarks to close the chapter.

4.1 As Motorists

Most participants who contributed qualitative data to this project encountered police as motorists or passengers in cars where the drivers were also Black youth. Jamal, a passenger, Rashid, a designated driver, and their friends encountered police in Lethbridge in two separate occurrences, with similar police responses.

4.1.1 Black Kids in a Car

I asked all my participants to tell me about what their experiences of interacting with the police were like. Jamal, a Black male youth between ages 25-30, explained that he and four other Black youth were driving one evening to pick up a friend whom he described as a White male when they suddenly heard sirens and realized police were trying to pull them over. Jamal's friend, who was visiting Lethbridge, stopped the vehicle. The officer, who was by himself, started questioning them about what they were doing that day. Jamal said they told the officer they were going to a friend's house. Jamal noted they began to

be curious about why the officer had stopped them, so they asked why the officer had pulled them over.

He remembered the officer telling them they received a reckless driving complaint. Jamal stated the officer's response made them suspicious and nervous for three reasons. Firstly, he believed they were not driving recklessly. Secondly, for most of them, that was their first police encounter as motorists. Third, the car belonged to a relative of the driver and not the driver himself. He stated they were also worried about what to say or what not to do to avoid trouble. Jamal shared that the officer told the driver to put his hands on the steering wheel and to the rest of them in the car to keep their "hands on sight and to not move."

Suddenly, Jamal stated they saw two more police cars come to the scene: a car both in front and back of them, the second was just pulling over. Jamal said they became more worried because of the increased police presence and "started wondering about what was going on." The police continued questioning them, looking around inside their car with a flashlight. He indicated the officer asked if they had been drinking alcohol or using drugs and if there was anything he should be worried about. Jamal noted their response to all questions was no. They had done nothing the officer should be concerned about. Jamal's encounter with police reinforces Maynard's (2017) conclusion that associations between Blackness and criminality make it so that Canadian police subject Black Canadians to quasi-legal practices, including searches, seizures and car stops more often than non-racialized Canadians.

This encounter ended with the officer telling Jamal and his friends they could go and thanked them for their "cooperation." While happy to be released, Jamal stated they had seen on "social media, like a minority getting killed or shot for no reason." As such, the incident left them wondering what could have happened to them: "Black kids in a car." He noted they wanted to "just to drive around like everyone else while listening to music and enjoy the ride." They

also wondered who had called the police and whether someone (a civilian or the police) had been following them. The practice of White civilians (White deputization) calling the police on Black persons they perceive as a threat is another form of how Black people experience policing even when not directly interacting with police in Western societies (Walcott, 2021).

Black youth's practices of sharing stories about their encounters with police amongst themselves functions to solidify their collective experiences as members of the marginalized in society (Delgado, 2013b; Squire et al., 2014). Jamal also shared stories of his uncle and friends' experiences encountering police during similar police stops. In one instance, one of Jamal's friends who was in the car during the Lethbridge encounter, was also involved in another subsequent police stop for speeding. He told me the friend told him a police officer pointed a gun at him and searched him during this stop. Stories like these exposes and validate the experiences of Black Canadian youth with police in Southern Alberta. Another young man I spoke with had an encounter with the police that was similar to Jamal and his four friends in Lethbridge.

4.1.2 Tried to Stay as Calm as Possible

Rashid, a young Black male Muslim youth between the ages of 20-24, shared three stories of police encounters with Black youth as motorists, including one where he was directly involved. Rashid said he was the designated driver with a few friends who wanted to go out around 10 pm. Rashid confirmed his friends "had gotten into a bit of an issue with the authorities at the club" and decided to leave the establishment. He thought they had called the police on them "out of spite" to report them as drunk drivers to get them in trouble. As Walcott (2021) has shown, incidents of White people calling the police on Black youth for being in spaces, private or public, that they perceived these youth should not be are frequent in white supremacist societies. Rashid revealed that five police cars surrounded them within minutes of leaving the club, a level of force that he

believed excessive. He stated he did not know what information the police had received about them, but he also thought "profiling had something" to do with their excessive and aggressive response. He noted because "they [the police] came in with an assumption [that they] would be drunk." Rashid wondered whether that level of response could have been the same had they been Whites.

As the designated driver, Rashid indicated he interacted most with one of the officers, answering his questions and being ordered to put his hands up. He stated, "The policeman was asking a lot of questions. Where were you coming from? What were you doing? How many people are in the car? Where are you planning to go next?" Rashid admitted to me that his friends were drunk, but he was not because he is Muslim. He said the officer had him walk a straight line to confirm he was not drunk. He stated he passed the exercise, but the officer's questioning did not stop. At one point, Rashid noted the officer also insisted on questioning his drunk friends. Rashid thought this was unnecessary because they were not driving. Police told Rashid and his friends again they were free to go without charges, similar to Jamal's and his friends' outcomes. However, Rashid stated everyone in the car was "shaken up" after but fought hard to remain calm during the interaction. Rashid also shared the stories of two other friends of his (a young Black man and a young Black woman) that had traffic related encounters with police in Lethbridge.

Rashid explained the male friend had just bought a car, and was insured, but had yet to complete the car's registration process. The friend had gone to a nearby store that he noticed was closed and made an illegal U-turn to come home when a police officer chased him into their neighbourhood with full sirens on. Australian research has shown that police follow Black motorists into their neighbourhoods to humiliate and further solidify negative perceptions of Black communities (Weber, 2020). That is because neighbours usually watch without understanding the context of those interactions. Rashid acknowledged the friend

was speeding above the limit for the area and had also forgotten his driver's licence when the officer pulled him over.

I had asked Rashid whether his initial interaction with the police changed his life in any significant way. He indicated the friend's encounter where he was "semi-present" was the one that left a negative perception of the police as being confrontational. Rashid said they could see the interaction from their home, and the officer involved was a female. She ordered the friend to put his hand up. Rashid indicated the officer would also ask the friend for specific things. However, whenever the friend attempted to put his hand in his pocket, the officer yelled: "'No'. Then she backed "away and [was] like, what are you doing? What are you doing?" Rashid informed me the friend received more than $2,000 in traffic tickets, including driving without registration, driving without a driver's license and for speeding. Following this encounter, this friend had several other police stops in Lethbridge, so he thought the police might have flagged his car.

In the other story Rashid shared, a male officer stopped his female friend for speeding above the limit in the area. The officer took her phone number and offered to take her out for dinner instead of getting a speeding ticket. Rashid said she told him all she had to do was to start crying when the officer that pulled her over approached her car. U.S. research (see Fine et al., 2003) has confirmed that Black women tend to experience sexual harassment in their interactions with police, including officers flirting with them. The officer's offer to take Rashid's female friend to dinner exemplifies flirting behaviour, abuse of power and sexual harassment. The survey data reveals that 63 percent (n=22) of Black youth in this study identified the police officers they interacted with as male. Abile's account of her encounter with police in Calgary as a motorist was neither aggressive nor flirtatious, as the previous stories from Jamal, Rashid and their friends. Still, it was stressful and frightening for her.

4.1.3 I'm not Allowed to Step out of the Car?

Abile, a Black Calgarian practicing Muslim woman between the ages of 25–30-years-old who wears a hijab, shared two stories of her encounters with police during our interview. Abile's first encounter with police occurred as a motorist on her way to work. She admitted to speeding above the limit of an area she described as remote outside of Calgary. Abile said she was running late to work. Abile explained her reactions below when she realized the police were pulling her over:

> I had no idea that the [police] car was behind me. So, when I saw it, … then I was like, … does this mean that I have to stop because it was my first time. Yeah … I didn't know what to do. I was like, Okay, let me stop. … I stopped and then I opened my car. I was about to get out of my car.

From the officer's reaction at this attempt to leave her car, Abile pointed out that she learned that she was to remain in her car and wait for the officer to approach her vehicle.

Abile noted conflicting feelings when she noticed the officer approaching her vehicle was Black. On the one hand, she indicated she was relieved to see a Black man in a police uniform. On the other hand, Abile stated she was still worried and scared about what would happen to her being Black and a woman, thus fearing for the intersection of race and gender, shaping the outcome of her encounter (Crenshaw, 1989, 2023). Abile shared she was driving alone and pulled over in a remote area with no houses nearby and that this added to her worries. She said she had seen a video of a White police officer physically assaulting a Black man while a Black police officer stood by and did nothing. The potential for Black police officers to engage in this kind of conduct is what terrified Abile during her traffic stop. In early January 2023, six months after my interview with Abile, reports of five Black Memphis police officers beating a Black man grounded Abile's fear in reality. Twenty-nine year old, Tyre Nichols, made the news in the U.S. during a traffic stop (Kirkland, 2023; Maxouris,

2023). Nichols died of the injuries he sustained during this encounter on January 10, 2023(Maxouris, 2023). This incident showed that sometimes Black police officers themselves can engage in the brutality that upholds white supremacy. Abile's encounter ended positively with a warning, and she went to work afterwards. Yet, she "was still scared." She asserted that seeing a Black officer reduced her feeling of tension but was unsure whether that should be calming her.

4.2 As Pedestrians

Black youth in this study also encountered police while walking to school or simply being out in their communities. For this project, I classified instances where research participants in this study interacted with police while strolling in their communities or standing in a public space and encountered police as pedestrians. In some cases, these interactions involved a youth encountering the same police officer multiple times in their communities. I also documented instances where Black youth were confronted and harassed on the street by civilians and tried to report these instances to police, but the police response took place at inappropriate times.

For instance, in the summer of 2022, Abile whose experiences were discussed earlier, noted she and her mother were victims of what appeared to be religious hate the day before our interview. Abile and her mother were leaving a Mosque after attending the Jumu'ah prayer, which Muslims perform every Friday in Calgary, when a woman began walking toward them. As she approached, the woman became verbally abusive and smacked Abile's mother's hand, causing her to drop her phone. Abile said she called the police to report the incident that day. She noted the police came by to see their family around 1:30 am when her "family were already asleep." Like Abile, Rubin also had the experience of police responding to him at inappropriate times.

4.2.1 Held at Gunpoint Enroute to School

Rubin, a Calgarian man between the ages of 25-30, had multiple encounters with police. He revealed that sometimes these interactions were with the same police officer, within a specific location in Calgary. Rubin explained his contact with police began when he was in junior high, when he was around 15 years old. He indicated he would attend a community dance organized for underage youth like himself in his community on Fridays or Saturdays. Rubin would often use the same route to go to these community dances, and each time a police officer would stop him at the same corner. Each time, he noted, the police questioned him, things like: where are you going? Why are you going there? Rubin admitted that what was frustrating to him was the fact that these interactions occurred, as he puts it, "continuously every Friday."

Rubin also recalled an incident that occurred around 6:30 in the morning while walking to the Rundle train station in Northeast Calgary on his morning commute to school. Rubin was in high school then and lived in the Rundle community, about five minutes from the train station. Rubin said walking to the station to catch a train on his way to school was more accessible. He said he was doing so on the day of an encounter when police turned flashing lights on their vehicle, pulled over to the side of the road, pulled a gun on Rubin and told him to put his hands up. Rubin stated the officer then began questioning him while pointing a gun: where was he going? Rubin told the officer he was going to school and pointed to the condos where he was living at the time. Rubin could not remember what else the officer said. He stated the officer then "put his gun in his holster, got in his car and drove off." Rubin summed up his experience from this encounter in the following sentences:

> It was, I was scared. It was very, very fearful. You know, you're not doing anything illegal. You're doing something legal by just walking, you're going to go get an education. Right? And then you get pulled over and then you get a gun pulled out on you.

Rubin said he went to school after this interaction, still scared and nervous, but those feelings disappeared after interacting with his friends and attending classes. He stated he ultimately took the whole incident and “buried it in the back of [his] mind.”

In his third encounter with police, Rubin remembered he and his friend were returning home from the mall and emphasized, "Again, we didn't cause any trouble." He indicated they were walking towards their condos when two or three police cruisers suddenly came through the condominium complex in Rundle. He said the officers stopped and told them to put their hands up, put their hands behind their backs and then handcuffed them. That time Rubin indicated their mothers watched the police handcuffing, but they could do nothing except "yell" for the officers to take the handcuffs off them. Rubin noted they remained handcuffed for about 10 to 15 minutes before they were released. A dispatcher confirmed they were the wrong persons of interest to the police. Although some might perceive this type of interaction as more common to larger metropolitan areas, it also happens in smaller cities in Southern Alberta. Uchenna also appeared to fit the profile of a person of interest to the police when he encountered them in Lethbridge as a pedestrian.

4.2.2 Fits the Profile

Uchenna explained he had accompanied a client to a professional visit downtown, Lethbridge. Uchenna said he was standing by the entrance of a building where the client’s meeting was when a police officer approached him. He stated the officer showed him a video of a suspect in a crime in the area. The officer then asked him if he recognized the person in it. Uchenna said the person on the video frame was Black with a similar hairstyle as his but found it strange that the officer would approach him with such a question. He indicated that the officer then said: "you look like the suspect," and asked him if he had been in the area around the time the offence occurred. Uchenna said he told the officer

that was not him in the video frame and the officer left. However, Uchenna wondered why him. He believed his appearance, particularly his hairstyle, had made him a target for that police encounter. Alice also had an involuntary police interaction that ensued when she was trying to get a ride home from her parents.

4.2.3 Back of the Police Station

Alice shared that she had just turned 18 the year of her encounter. She was between the age of 20-24 when I interviewed her for this project. She said she had attended an event earlier that day. She wanted a ride home from that event and decided to call her parents for a ride, but she could not get a hold of them. As such, she indicated she kept calling until a Lethbridge police officer answered on one of her parents' phones. At this time, Alice stated the officer informed her that her parents were in custody and offered to come to pick her up from the event. Alice said she agreed, and two police officers arrived and picked her up. Below is Alice's account of what happened next:

> So, they had to send a car to come pick me up from an event that I was at and then they took me back to the station. But they did not take me inside.
>
> They just questioned me in the back of a car behind the police station, which was kind of odd.
>
> They [the police] started asking me questions like on the way there. There were two of them, at first.
>
> We drove to the police station, like, the Lethbridge police station, and then we went around the corner to like their parking lot.
>
> And it was pretty hot that day. Most of the questioning was just done in the back of the car. And then the other officer stepped out.
>
> So then it was just me and him.
>
> Which was kind of uncomfortable because I was thinking: yeah, the police station’s right there. Yeah, I don't know why I'm in the back of a police car, in the parking lot.
>
> He [the officer] recorded like he recorded the conversation. … I just turned 18. … he wanted to see my phone like unlock your phone except like they usually don't tell you, like what your rights are … So I asked him: do I have to, like hand over my phone?

And he was like: no.

And I'm like: then I'm not doing that because it's my phone…."

Alice confirmed the police detained her in their cruiser at the parking lot for about an hour even though, as she indicated, she had nothing to do with her parents' arrest. She indicated the officer released her from the parking lot behind the Lethbridge Police Service building, where police held her in the car for the entire time. Alice pointed out her parents were still in police custody; as a result, she had to find other means to get home. It is possible that Alice might not have had this interaction had her parents not been arrested. However, what is essential for my project is the impact of this interaction on Alice herself, including her trust that police would protect her when needed. For instance, I asked Alice whether she would change how she does things around police as a result of this interaction, and this was her response to that question:

> Hmm, I just don't really trust them because I'm like, I don't know if I can trust you. I think my first thing would be, … Oh, you should go to the police when you appear to be in trouble, and I'm like, wait for a second. Do we have to do so?

The experience from this encounter also had Alice wondering whether the police targeted her because of her intersecting racial and gender identities as a Black female youth. Alice had not been accused of a crime, but similar kinds of encounters have taken place where Black youth had been accused of crimes they did not commit.

4.3 Accused – Negligent and Flippant

Breanna and Jamal shared stories of being accused of crimes that they believed had not been thoroughly investigated by police. In contrast, Kim's and Charity's accounts pointed to police being flippant or dismissive in their interactions.

4.3.1 Accused of Stealing Cats

Breanna was a 16–19-year-old Black female youth that I interviewed from Calgary. Two months before our interview, Breanna was involved in an incident with two other girls whom she described as White that also involved a neighbour's three missing kittens. Breanna said the police ended up charging her with theft for stealing the kittens. Breanna denied this allegation, stating she had no kittens.

Breanna said she offered to show the investigating officer text messages and screenshots of Facebook posts to corroborate that she did not steal the cats. Additionally, Breanna noted she asked the investigating police officer to review the surveillance cameras of the apartment building where the kittens were allegedly stolen. Instead, Breanna said the officer said he was tired of the case and that seeing more evidence would mean more work for him. Hence, charging her was more convenient than investigating the alleged offence any further. Breanna noted the officer never charged the White girls and that she also found out the officer had been in contact with the girls, but he never reached out to her. Breanna expressed her frustration below:

> I was fighting to not go to court for any of this to happen. And he completely pushed it aside. He called me only once. He called these people several times. And he asked them for a statement. I didn't even know that he was doing statements and stuff like that.

Breanna felt racially targeted on this charge because the other girls were White. She advised a visible minority police officer who was not initially involved in the case later intervened. She stated the officer offered her the opportunity to complete ten hours of community service. She accepted that offer even though she was adamant about not stealing the kittens. The alternative was fighting the case in court. Police officers have the discretion to deal with youth ages 12-17 involved with the law through extrajudicial measures under Section 4.1(1) and subsequent subsections of the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA) in Canada (Department of Justice, 2023). Performing community service

work is an example of extrajudicial measures. It can be effective in holding a young person accountable for an offence. Research from Ontario has shown that Black Canadian youth are more likely to be charged than benefitting from participating in extrajudicial measures programs than White youth (Samuels-Wortley, 2022). Breanna, however, was content with completing the ten hours of unwarranted community service work despite having not stolen the kittens. She noted it saved her dream of studying medicine to become a doctor. Like four other participants in this study, Breanne believes having more diversity and mainly Black police officers might improve youth's outcomes from their encounters with police in Southern Alberta.

4.3.2 Life in Suspense

Similarly, in addition to Jamal's encounter with police as a motorist discussed earlier, he also revealed that he had been accused of a crime that he did not commit, in Lethbridge. He noted the investigating officer also did not seem interested in hearing what he had to say. Jamal stated he had voluntarily offered the officer information that could assist in establishing his innocence. Instead, Jamal noted, that information had been used against him, making it difficult to trust the police to help him. Jamal's case has since been withdrawn; however, he pointed out that his life was in suspense, not knowing what the outcome would have been. He had dreamt of becoming a police officer but wondered if that could still be a reality for him. Jamal informed me that this case has affected him financially, emotionally, mentally, and has impacted his trust in people.

Findings from a recent report suggest that Black people tend to be charged with criminal offences they should not have been accused of(Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023). Saghbini and Paquin-Marseille (2023) explored the experiences of Black people in Canadian criminal courts. Their analysis confirmed criminal charges against Black people between 2005-06 and 2015-16 were more likely to be

withdrawn, stayed, dismissed entirely, or acquitted relative to White accused persons (see pp. 17-20). These outcomes suggest that police should not have charged them in the first place. I agree with Saghbini and Paquin-Marseille's point that "the likelihood of cases accused of Black persons in Canada resulting in "withdrawal, dismissal or discharge" (p. 19) should be concerning because police are the gatekeepers to Black youth entering the justice system (Maynard, 2017). This also means that judges should pay special attention to cases against Black persons in their courtrooms', as Black accused persons do not always have the financial means to secure proper legal representation (Alexander, 2012; Mansell et al., 1999). For Police to have engaged in a thorough investigation of cases like Breanna's and Jamal's would be a good start to prevent Black youth from being charged unnecessarily.

4.3.3 Targeting Our House.

Kim explained that the police were at her family home, claiming a call for service came from their house related to domestic violence in Lethbridge. However, Kim indicated everyone in the house was asleep when police started banging on their door around three in the morning. Kim said officers forcefully entered their family home when they opened the door. She indicated the family told the officers the call for help was not from their home, but they were dismissive. Kim emphasized that the officers were not listening, especially to her father, which worried her. Kim stated the officers were also disrespectful to her father and expressed her dismay below:

> It's like upsetting to try and explain to two figures who are playing a system that you know, doesn't support men that looked like my father and tried to explain that, you know, this is not what you think it is." … They basically, like they were still very adamant on the fact that the call came from our house. It just, they did not seem to be listening, like they already had an idea and a story made up in their mind.

After a while, Kim said the officers' story changed from the call coming directly from their house to coming from the area. Kim noted the officers then decided to leave; however, she indicated they did not see the officers checking any of

their neighbours' houses. Kim felt police targeted her family home, especially after they observed officers driving away without checking who might need help in the area. Kim's accounts draw attention to what may appear to be police willingness to investigate cases leading to a Black person being charged with an offence.

A 2020 CBC documentary has also shown that police can charge Black youth that they have victimized in Southern Alberta. For example, then 26-year-old Ghanian-born Godfred Addai-Nyamekye was seen in a video shown in a Calgary court being brutally beaten up by a Calgary Police officer in an unprovoked attack in 2013(Francoeur & Uppal, 2020). This attack left Addai-Nyamekye with a debilitating back injury and post-traumatic stress disorder. However, the video evidence was used against Addai-Nyamekye in a case alleging that he had assaulted a peace officer, not the other way around. Two police officers had initially found Addai-Nyamekye's car stuck in the snow before this brutal attack. Police had taken him to the outskirts of Calgary and told him to fend for himself under a temperature of -28 degrees, without winter clothing, like a winter jacket (Francoeur & Uppal, 2020). This was not the first time in the Prairies that police officers have engaged in this practice, now known as "starlight tours[12]." It became infamous in the 1990s and 2000s after the deaths of two Indigenous men who police left in freezing conditions in Saskatoon (Monchalin, 2016).

4.3.4 Taking Space

Charity, a 25-30-year-old female participant, had her most recent encounters with police at her workplace and through her participation in anti-discrimination activism in Calgary. She shared that she used to work at a bustling bar on 17the Avenue in Calgary, where police "would come in very often

[12] Starlight tours involve police officers picking up vulnerable persons, driving them to the outskirts of the city and leaving them to fend for themselves under freezing temperatures.

to do their gang suppression" with an aggressive attitude. Charity explained that she thought it "very interesting" that:

> It's quite explicit [the way police conducted themselves], but just the way that they would kind of come and take in space, kind of like bump into us not say sorry, just kind of really entitled. The kind of energy that one would not expect from tax paid public servants that are supposed to be serving the communities.

Charity also pointed to the differential enforcement and protection approaches that the police tend to use in their interactions with social and political protesters in Calgary. For instance, Charity suggested police protect anti-maskers and anti-vaccination protesters by standing in front, to shield them. In contrast, she indicated police tend to push "anti-discrimination" protesters back. Charity explained this phenomenon as follows:

> I have a lot of friends that do political like engagement, very kind of like progressive leftist Black liberation, queer liberation kind of stuff. And oftentimes, you'll see the police at protests, pushing back [protesters] kind of, you know, physically kind of occupying space being intimidating.

Charity also believed that Black women, in particular, do not receive the same protection from the police as White women. She recalled calling the police for help when she was much younger but noted the police were "flippant or dismissive and not eager to help" in those attempts. Police violence does not need to be physical, nor does it only impact young Black men ("Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; Maynard, 2017). Police disregard for Black women's calls for help is in itself a form of violence and contrary to a police duty to protect all, irrespective of gender, skin colour and other intersections.

4.4 Discussion

Policing is often presented as the only option for the safety of society (Walcott, 2021), a reason Abile and her family have called the police twice for help. For this same reason, Charity called the police for assistance. This was despite both women's acute awareness that Black people's safety is not always guaranteed when interacting with police. Additionally, the above-selected stories show that participants' experiences with police violence are often

subtle, similar to how those who are racialized experience racism in Alberta, making it difficult to challenge. Unnecessary charging or refusal to diligently investigate cases involving Black youth as accused should be considered an act of police violence toward Black youth in this study for two reasons. Firstly, the intersection of race and a criminal record in a white supremacist society can be, and often is, detrimental to these youth's futures. Secondly, Black youth may not necessarily have the financial resources to assemble an adequate legal team to defend their innocence. Lacking a good lawyer could result in poverty due to barriers to employment following a negative outcome in court, and generally accepting ill-fated plea-bargaining deals with zealous Crown Prosecutors (Alexander, 2012; Mansell et al., 1999). Bell (2008) has argued the myth of Black criminality may influence a police officer's decision not to intentionally explore evidential leads pointing to other suspects in a case.

Crits believe racism is not an isolated instance of conscious prejudiced practice but a "larger, systemic, structural, and cultural [problem that is] deeply psychologically and socially ingrained" (Matsuda et al., 1993, p. 5). These theorists use personal histories and stories, amongst other similar means to show how race shapes the experiences of marginalized others in society, thereby challenging the majoritarian stories, for instance, of a race-neutral or colour-blind society (Delgado, 2013b; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda et al., 1993). Stories connect the marginalized through their shared experiences (Delgado, 2013b; Parker & Lynn, 2002). For example, Breanna from Calgary and Jamal from Lethbridge shared similar concerns about the lack of thorough police investigation in their cases. Hearing each other's stories would validate their accounts as evidence of their lived experiences. Substantiating the lived experiences of Black youth in their interactions with police in Southern Alberta is my unique contribution to the Canadian literature and beyond on Black youth-police interactions. The stories presented show that Black youth’s experiences with police violence are not limited to Toronto, Ontario. Racism at the hands

of police is also an experience that Black youth in Southern Alberta have, particularly in Calgary and Lethbridge.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has highlighted the various circumstances and experiences of Black youth with police, based on the perspectives of the youth. Participants' descriptions of their interactions with police reveal that they are constantly worried about their safety and that of their friends and family when interacting with police in Calgary and Lethbridge. For some, their experiences with police left them wondering whether White people would have had been treated differently under the same circumstances. Breanna and Jamal believe cases involving Black youth are not always thoroughly investigated because they are presumed to be guilty of their accused crimes. I thoroughly analyze these stories and the rest of the data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This project has so far explored and accentuated the experiences of Black youth aged 16-30 with police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat and amplified some of their voices. I was interested in answering my research questions from a CRT theoretical and Intersectional-Counter-Storytelling methodological framework to analyze the data. I wanted to know how their experiences with police affected their sense of belonging in their communities and how this might have varied based on their city of residence and their identified gender. These research questions led to my hypothesizing that, firstly, there is a relationship between a Black youth knowing someone or being a victim of police violence and their perceptions of police and sense of belonging in Canada. Secondly, I also postulated that there is a relationship between geographical location, gender, age, style of dressing and a Black youth's frequency of police contact. And lastly, Black youth's interactions and experiences with police in Southern Alberta are distinct from others in other larger Canadian or U.S. cities.

In this chapter, I present only findings from my analysis of the quant and QUAL datasets. I will discuss the meaning of these findings in relation to the study's aims, objectives, and research questions in the next chapter. I structured this chapter into four sections, including this brief introduction. Here I examine the prominent themes that emerge from Black youth's accounts of their interactions with police in Southern Alberta, including a brief and further description of the participants. Following that, I highlight the emotional and psychological impacts of racialized police practices on the Black youth who participated in this study and their perception of police.

5.1 Description of Participants

Consistent with the survey data, participants in the NVivo cases were slightly more likely to hold a college or high school diploma, 57 percent (n=20), compared to 43 percent (n=15) with a bachelor's degree or higher. Moreover, the survey data indicates the majority of the respondents, 77 percent (n=27), were Canadian citizens. More than two-fifths(43 percent, n=15) were born outside Canada. Respondents with temporary immigration status, such as student visas, migrant worker or work visas and refugee status, accounted for 14 percent (n=5) of the survey data. Respondents with permanent status in Canada but were not yet Canadian citizens made up 9 percent (n=3) of the survey respondents. Survey respondents were more likely to be employed, working full-time hours. Slightly more than half of the survey respondents (54 percent, n=19) were employed, working more than 35 hours a week, compared to a little under a quarter (23 percent, n=8) working part-time, less than 35 hours a week. Twenty percent (n=7) were unemployed, while three percent (n=1) did not indicate their employment status.

Figure 3 below briefly describes participants whose data I analyzed in NVivo. These cases included the 11 interviews and twenty-six cases I created from the QUAL data survey respondents who also provided their responses to the open-ended questions on the online perception survey.

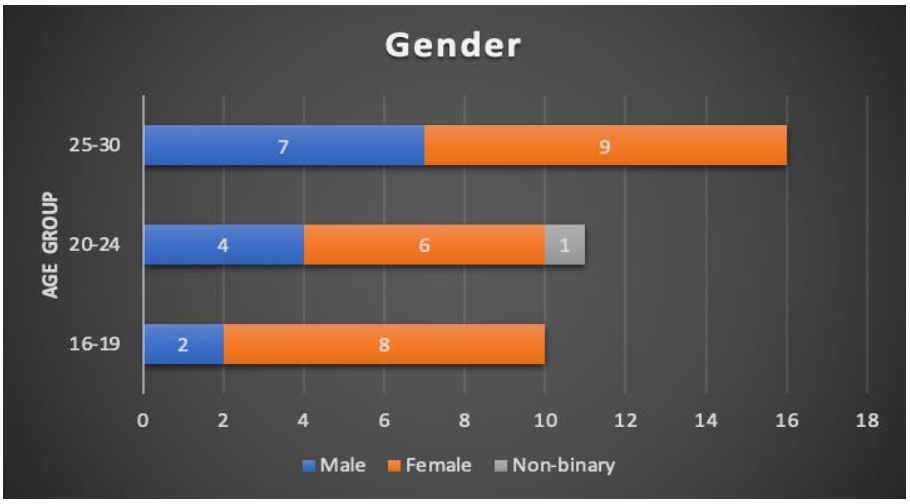


Figure 3: *Count, Age & Gender of NVivo Cases*

Also, almost consistent with the survey respondents' distribution, male and non-binary research participants accounted for 35 and 3 percent of the cases, respectively. However, unlike the survey respondents, research participants aged 25-30 (N=37) represented 43 percent of the cases, followed by 30 percent and 27 percent of participants aged 20-24 and 16-19, respectively. In contrast to the equal distribution of the survey respondents between Calgary and Lethbridge, research participants from Calgary represented almost half (49 percent, n=18) of the cases analyzed in NVivo. In comparison, research participants from Lethbridge encompassed 43 percent (n=16) of these cases. Hence, the findings presented thematically below primarily portray the perceptions of Black youth from Calgary and Lethbridge who participated in this project.

5.2 An Overview of The Prominent Themes

Figure 4 below shows five prominent hierarchically organized themes based on my coding of the qualitative data from both datasets. Starting with the most dominant, these themes, with their aggregated number of references, were Responses (913), Policing (540), White Supremacy (446), Belonging (308), and Intersections (213). These themes comprised 2,423 aggregated references extracted from the 37 cases previously noted. Coding references can be a word, sentence, or paragraph of importance to the research participants or the aims

and objectives of a project, coded to a theme, sub-theme, code, or sub-code. In other words, the coded content to a theme or code is referred to as a 'reference' in this document (Lumivero, 2023). The higher the number of references coded to a theme, category, or code, the more prominent that theme, category, or code is within the analyzed data. As shown in the hierarchal chart that follows, each theme contains a sub-theme, category, codes and sub-code, and the size of a box denotes their prominence of that theme or code in the data.

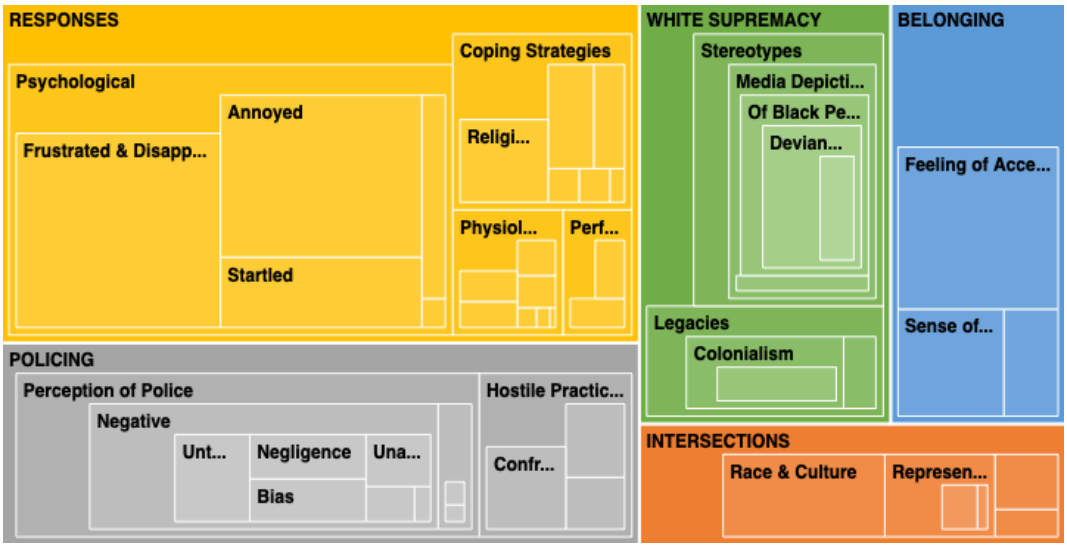


Figure 4: *Hierarchy of the Prominent Themes, Sub-themes, Codes, and Sub-codes*

To illustrate, the Responses theme, seen in yellow, was prominent. This theme comprises four categories or sub-themes: Psychological, Physiological, Performances and Routines, and Coping Strategies. Alternatively, Figure 5 below shows the percentage representation of each theme out of the 2,423 aggregated references coded to the five themes. Responses and Policing themes have noticeable prominence of the five, representing 38 percent and 22 percent of the aggregated references, respectively. White Supremacy, Belonging, and Intersections themes accounted for 18 percent, 13 percent and 9 percent, of the references, respectively. Note that the percentages related to the qualitative data analyzed in NVivo presented here mainly show the frequency of a theme, sub-

theme or code in the data. I will explicitly indicate if I offer percentages related to the survey data in this chapter and beyond.

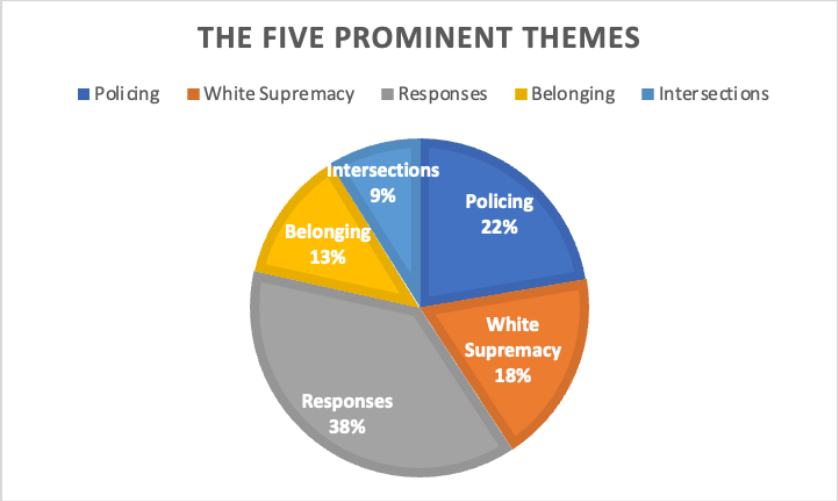


Figure 5: *The Prominent Themes and Percentage of Coverage*

Overall, research participants from Lethbridge represented slightly more than half, 53 percent of the references to the five prominent themes illustrated in Figure 5 above, compared to their Calgary counterparts who made up 45 percent (N=1432) of the themes. The analysis focused on Calgary and Lethbridge because research participants from these cities accounted for 18 and 16 of the cases analyzed here. At the same time, Brooks, Medicine Hat, and the surrounding areas represented one each of the 37 analyzed cases. A cross-tabulation of the references where research participants identified gender and type of encounter revealed that research participants who encountered police as motorists identified predominantly as male, 42 percent, compared to only 12 percent of those who identified as female (N=1107).

I also explored coding references to the five themes against the type and time of the day research participants encountered police. This analysis showed the coding references to the five themes were also more present for research participants who encountered police as motorists between 8 pm and 4 am, 21 percent, compared to those who interacted with police as pedestrians within the same period, 4 percent (N=900). Likewise, analysis of the survey data revealed

that 46 percent of Black youth in this project encountered police as motorists, compared to 31 percent who did not, and in 23 percent of the cases, data was missing.

As shown in Table 5 below, Black youth from Lethbridge in this study were more likely to have encountered police while driving, 50 percent, compared to 31 percent (N=27) of their counterparts in Calgary. I explore the data thematically in more detail below, starting with Policing and then following this with White Supremacy. This sequencing is consistent with how Black youth in this study conceived of their experiences with police interwoven with their differential experiences in society as persons of African descent in Southern Alberta.

Table 5

Frequencies and Percentages of Survey Respondents' Encounter with Police While Driving and City of Residence

	Stopped by Police While Driving			
	No		Yes	
	F	%	F	%
Calgary	6	54.5%	5	31.3%
Lethbridge	4	36.4%	8	50.0%
Brooks	0	0.0%	1	6.3%
Medicine Hat	0	0.0%	1	6.3%
Other	1	9.1%	1	6.3%

Note. Generated from SPSS; F = Frequency; % = Percentage

5.2.1 Policing

Policing was the second prominent theme based on my coding of the qualitative data from both datasets. By policing, I meant police actions or practices that positively or negatively impacted Black youth in this study during their interactions, including as motorists or pedestrians. My analysis of Black youth's general interactions with police suggests that youth from Lethbridge had slightly higher chances (17 percent versus 14 percent, N=35) of having their first encounters with police at younger ages, 13-15 years old, and much later in their youthful years, 25-30 (11 percent versus 6 percent, N=35) than their counterparts in Calgary. It appears that the earlier in age Black

youth who participated in this project encountered police, the higher their frequency of subsequent police interactions.

As shown in Table 6 below, 33 percent (N=27) of Black youth who have interacted with police between two to ten times reported they were 13-15 years old when they first interacted with police. Comparatively, the same was true for only 18 percent (N=27) of those who first encountered between the ages of 16-19.

Table 6
Frequency & Age at First Interaction with Police

		Number Times Interacted with Police					
		Once	2-5 times	6-10 times	11-20 times	20> times	
		F	F	F	F	F	Total
Age at First Interaction with Police	<12	0	0	1	1	0	2
	13-15	1	7	2	1	1	12
	16-19	1	5	1	0	0	7
	25-30	1	4	0	1	0	6
Total		3	16	4	3	1	27

Note. Generated from SPSS. F = Frequency

Additionally, a cross-tabulation of survey respondents identified by gender, city of residence, interaction with police, and their knowledge of someone who has encountered police revealed Black female youth from Lethbridge were substantially more likely to know someone who has interacted with police compared to their Calgary counterparts. These findings are shown in Table 7 below. Notice from this Table that 100 percent of the Black female youth in this study know someone who has interacted with police, and 78 percent (N=35) of them have also encountered police compared to 90 percent and 70 percent (N=35) of their counterparts in Calgary. Findings shown in Table 7 also indicate that Black male youth in Calgary and Lethbridge were just as likely to have interacted with police as they were to know someone who had interacted with police during this study period.

Table 7

Cross-tabulation of Survey Respondents' Gender, City, Knowing Someone and Interactions with Police

		Gender																	
		Female										Male							
		City of Residence										City of Residence							
		Calgary		Lethbridge		Brooks		Medicine Hat		Other		Calgary		Lethbridge		Brooks		Lethbridge	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
KS	No	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	20	0	0	0	0
	Yes	9	90	9	100	1	10	1	100	2	100	4	80	4	80	1	100	1	100
IWP	No	3	30	2	22	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	20	0	0	0	0
	Yes	7	70	7	78	0	0	1	100	2	100	4	80	4	80	1	100	1	100

Note. 1. KS: Knowing Someone; 2: IWP: Interaction with Police; F = Frequency; % = Percentage

In this study, Black youth's experiences with police range from perceived experiences of police harassment, violence, and intimidation to police responsiveness or lack thereof to their safety concerns in Southern Alberta. For example, I coded the following statement from Abile, a female research participant from Calgary to this theme:

> I don't know why the brutality exist, but it seems that in every country in the world I mean, if you go and ask them, there's a certain violence that is exert[ed] on … civilians.

The above shows that Abile understood brutality as an inherent feature of policing in Canada and beyond. Overall, research participants from Lethbridge (179 coding references) were just as likely to have expressed sentiment coded to the Policing theme as participants from Calgary (185 coding references). However, as previously shown, Black youth in this study were more likely to have interacted with police either as drivers themselves or passengers in a vehicle driven by another Black youth, and those from Lethbridge accounted for the bulk of those encounters.

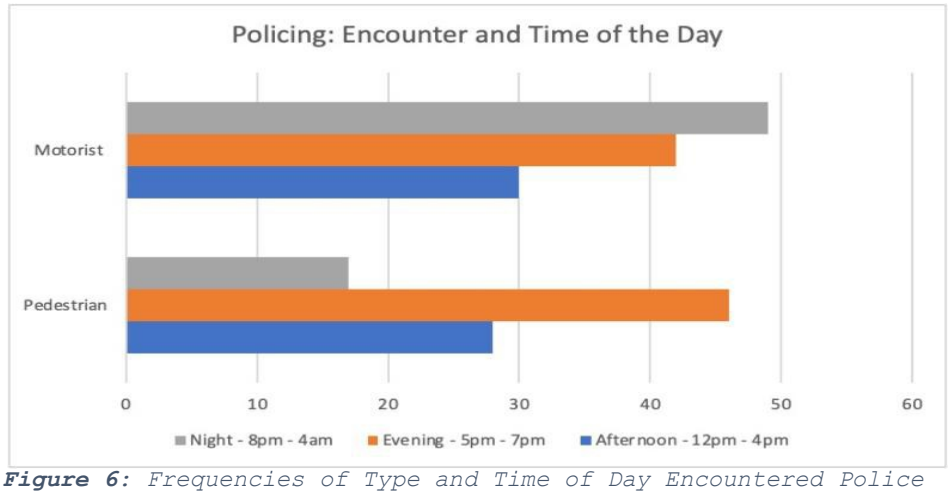


Figure 6: *Frequencies of Type and Time of Day Encountered Police*

The qualitative data reveals that research participants who identified as female and those aged 25-30 accounted for 52 percent (n=373) and 55 percent (n=337) of the coding references or content coded to the Policing theme. As shown above, Figure 6 above illustrates that most interactions between research participants and police as motorists and pedestrians took place in the evenings (5 pm – 7 pm) and at night (8 pm - 4 am). To explore this theme further, Policing consists of two sub-themes, one of which I named Hostile Practices, containing 133 references.

5.2.1.1 Hostile Practices

Hostile Practices constitute police practices that I interpreted as confrontational, harassing, or intimidating postures or perceived excessive use of force during a particular exchange between a police officer and a Black youth who participated in this study. The excerpt below from Rashid's account of his encounter with police exemplified an item coded as confrontation or intimidation:

> You didn't catch me stealing Or you didn't hear that I was armed. Like, I don't need to put my hands up. You don't need to be frightened by me reaching for my pockets for something that you asked for ... and you become agitated, right. Like all those little things that you just feel, would this be the case if I was White?

In this instance, I perceived the police commanding Rashid to put his hand up as an act of power and police intimidation when it might not have been necessary. Rashid himself believed it happened only because of his skin colour. As such, the overarching theme of Hostile Practices also consists of three sub-codes: confrontation or intimidation, harassment and brutality or excessive force, as shown in the Figure 7 below.

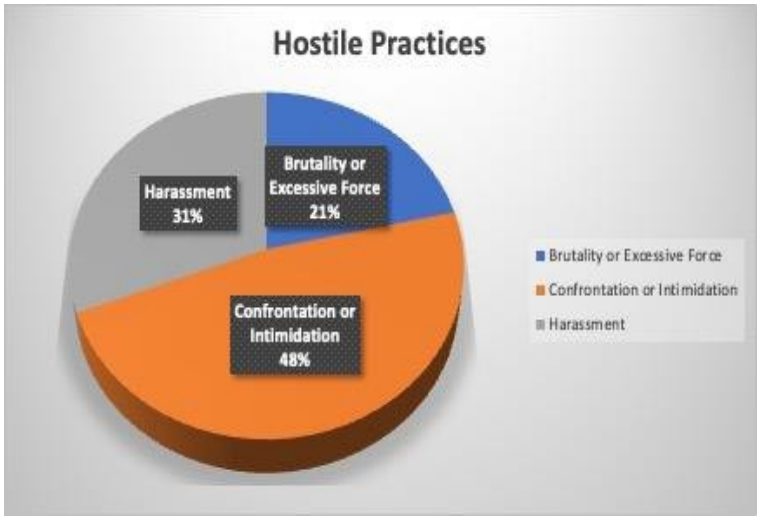


Figure 7: *Codes and Percentages of Hostile Practices*

5.2.1.2 Confrontation or Intimidation

A confrontational, or intimidating police practice was present where an officer's actions appeared as such during their interactions with Black youth in this study. For example, the police ordering Rashid to put his "hands up" during his encounter with police in Lethbridge exemplifies an intimidating police practice. Figure 7 above and Table 8 below show that confrontation or intimidation was the most prominent code, followed by harassment and brutality or excessive force, with each representing 48 percent, 31 percent, and 21 percent (n=107) of the coding references to Hostile Practices, respectively.

However, Table 8 only signifies research participants who indicated their gender and city of residence in the qualitative data analyzed. In general, the majority of the coding references to confrontation or intimidation were from

those who identified as Black male youth in this study, especially those from Lethbridge. Black male youth from Lethbridge represented 61 percent of the content I coded to confrontation or intimidation (n=51), shown in Table 8, page 120, below. Further, my analysis reveals that male research participants who encountered police as motorists accounted for a significant percentage of the references to this code, compared to those who interacted with police as pedestrians: 70 percent versus 23 percent (n=44).

5.2.1.3 Harassment

I coded repeated unwanted interactions with police as indicative of police harassment. This code was the second most prominent code within the Hostile Practices sub-theme. For instance, I coded Charity's account below of her repeated encounters with police in her workplace in Calgary as an example of police harassment. Charity stated:

> "I used to work at a very busy bar on 17th Avenue. And they [police] would come in very often to do their gang suppression."

As shown in Table 8 below, incidents of police harassment were frequently mentioned by research participants from Calgary, predominantly by those who identified as Black male youth. Compared to 21 percent of Black male youth from Lethbridge, in Calgary, Black youth accounted for 68 percent (n=34) of the content I coded as police harassment in this project. Although not reflected in Table 8, the research participants who encountered police as pedestrians between 5 pm and 7 pm experienced more police harassment, 74 percent (n=31), compared to three percent of Black youth who interacted with police as motorists within the same period. Brutality or excessive force was the least prominent code within Hostile practices as shown in Figure 7, page 118 above and Table 8 below.

5.2.1.4 Brutality or Excessive Force

Among acts of police brutality and excessive use of force, I included accounts of physical assault intimidation, which included handcuffing and pointing a gun at a youth. Rubin's accounts of one of his multiple encounters

with police in Calgary exemplified police brutality or excessive force in this study. As Rubin explained in the previous chapter, an officer pulled a gun on him while he was walking to a train station in Calgary on his way to school. He stated, "A cop actually put on his lights, pulled over to the side and pulled out his gun on me." I identified this as police brutality or excessive force, including an officer putting a Black youth in handcuffs when it might not have been necessary.

Similar to the experiences with police harassment, Black youth in Calgary who interacted with police as pedestrians between 5 pm and 4 am were more like to have expressed incidents of police brutality or excessive force. More significantly, Black youth from Calgary accounted for 92 percent (n=24) of the content coded to brutality or excessive force compared to 8 percent of their counterparts in Lethbridge, shown in Table 8 below. These findings from the QUAL data were consistent with the results from the survey data, where 60 percent (N=35) of Black youth in this study reported police had never been physically abusive in their interactions. However, Black youth from Calgary accounted for 27 percent (N=35) of youth that reported police physical abuse between one and five times in their encounters, compared to 8 percent of Black youth from Lethbridge. As shown in Table 9, page 121, below, I coded instances experienced by Black youth that I identified as non-physical violence under the second Policing sub-theme - Perception of Police.

Table 8

Hostile Practices Codes and Their Distribution Based on Black Youth's Gender, and City of Residence

Codes	Male (n=13)	Male (n=13)	Female(n=23)	Female (n=23)	Female (n=23)	
	Calgary (n=6)	Lethbridge (n=7)	Calgary (n=12)	Lethbridge (n=8)	Medicine Hat (n=1)	
	F	F	F	F	F	Total(n=37)
Hostile Practices	36	37	21	13	1	108
Brutality or Excessive Force	12	2	10	0	0	24
Confrontation or Intimidation	10	31	4	6	0	51
Harassment	23	7	1	2	1	34
Total	81	77	36	21	2	217

Note. Generated in NVivo 12. F = Frequency. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research

participants who contributed qualitative data and identified their genders and city of residence.

The Perception of Police sub-theme constitutes codes that highlight participants' positive or negative attitudes or perceptions due to their experiences with police. For example, I coded the accounts of police dismissiveness and perceived police willingness to charge instead of thoroughly investigating crimes that Black youth had been accused of under one of the primary codes of this sub-theme: Negative perception of police. As shown in Table 9, Black female youth from Calgary accounted for 63 percent (n=56) of the content I coded as negligence. Black male youth from Lethbridge represented 36 percent of the data's content or references to negligence. Overall, female research participants in this study accounted for the majority of the references to police being flippant or dismissive in their interactions, 78 percent (n=18). Black female youth from Lethbridge were slightly more likely to express feelings of police dismissiveness, 44 percent (n=8).

Table 9

Perception of Police Codes and Their Distribution Based on Black Youth's Identified Gender and City of Residence

Codes	Calgary (n=18)	Calgary (n=18)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Medicine Hat (n=1)	Other (n=1)	
	Male (n=6)	Female (n=12)	Male (n=7)	Female (n=8)	Female (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Total (n=37)
	F	F	F	F	F	F	
Perception of Police	38	106	90	58	4	5	301
Negative	29	89	79	52	4	3	256
Bias	1	26	19	3	0	3	52
Flippant	0	6	2	8	2	0	18
Negligence	0	35	20	1	0	0	56
Racist	2	5	0	0	0	0	7
Unaccountable	4	14	4	13	1	0	36
Untrustworthy	4	28	19	17	2	0	70
Positive	4	7	5	1	1	0	18
Professional	0	3	2	1	0	0	6
Responsive	2	6	0	0	0	0	8
Total	84	325	240	154	14	11	828

Note. Generated in NVivo 12. F = Frequency. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research participants who identified their genders and city of residence.

I ran Spearman's (rho) rank-order correlations coefficient to examine the relationships between age at first interaction with police, frequency of interactions, respect, physical abuse, and frequency of searches during stops, and city, shown in Table 10 below. Among Black youth in this study, there was a

weak negative rank-order correlation between age at first interaction with police and the number of times they had interacted with police, r_s = -.342, n = 27, p = .081. There was a moderate negative rank-order correlation between the number of times the youth interacted with police and the number of times they were searched during a stop while driving, r_s = -.416, n = 16, p = .109. There was also a weak negative rank-order correlation between the number of times interacted with police and city of residence, r_s = -.377, n = 27, p = .053. Additionally, there was a moderate positive rank-order correlation between age at first interaction with police and the number of times searched during a stop while driving, r_s = .431, n = 16, p = .095. The p-values in these correlations mean that I am confident these associations did not occur by chance. For instance, a p = .095 means the chances that the relationship between age at first police interaction and the number of times searched during a stop occurring by chance is less than 10 percent.

Table 10

Spearman's Rank-Order Correlations Between Age at First Contact, Frequency of Contact, Respectful, Physical Abuse and City.

	Age at First Interaction with Police	Number of Times Interacted with Police	Respectful During Stop	Physically Abused	Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	City of Residence
Age at First Interaction with Police	1.000					
Number of Times Interacted with Police	-.342	1.000				
Respectful During Stop	-.218	.248	1.000			
Physically Abused	-.296	.142	.386	1.000		
Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	.431	-.416	-.177	-.289	1.000	
City of Residence	.124	-.377	-.355	.048	.013	1.000

Note. Generated from SPSS. Strength of Relationship: 0.3 = Weak, 0.5 = Moderate and 0.7 = Strong (Noack, 2018).

Moreover, I conducted another Spearman's (rho) rank-order correlations coefficient examination of the relationships between city, stopped while driving, the number of times stopped, the number of times searched during a stop while driving and the car condition (expensive or old car). Results from this

test are displayed in Table 11 below. Among the Black youth who participated in the study, there were strong positive and statistically significant rank-order correlations between being stopped by police while driving and driving an expensive car, r_s = .879**, n = 35, p = <.001, and the number of times searched during a stop while driving and driving an old car, r_s = .937**, n = 35, p = <.001. The p-value indicates there is less than a 0.1 percent chance of selecting a sample from this project's population in which there is no rank-order correlation between, for example, the number of times Black youth were searched during a stop while driving and driving an old car (Noack, 2018). Black youth in this study see their experiences with police outlined in the preceding pages as an extension of their experiences of differential treatment from schools to society in general, where the legacies of slavery and colonialism continue to impact their lives in Southern Alberta. I coded these as White Supremacy.

Table 11
Spearman's Rank-Order Correlations Between City, Stops While Driving, and Car Condition.

	City of Residence	Stopped by Police While Driving	Number of Times Stopped	Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	Driving an Expensive Car	Driving an Old Car
City of Residence	1.000					
Stopped by Police While Driving	.191	1.000				
Number of Times Stopped	.161	.881**	1.000			
Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	.204	.886**	.853**	1.000		
Driving an Expensive Car	.197	.879**	.868**	.920**	1.000	
Driving an Old Car	.305	.879**	.850**	.937**	.926**	1.000

Note. **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Strength of Relationship: 0.3 = Weak, 0.5 = Moderate and 0.7 = Strong (Noack, 2018).

5.2.2 White Supremacy

White Supremacy was the third dominant theme from the data, with 446 aggregated coding references or coded content. This theme accentuated research participants' articulations of how societal stereotypes of Black people as deviant, violent and criminal, often propagated in the mass media (movies, music videos, news media outlets, etc.), have contributed to the racial profiling of members of Black communities and have influenced their experiences, from their

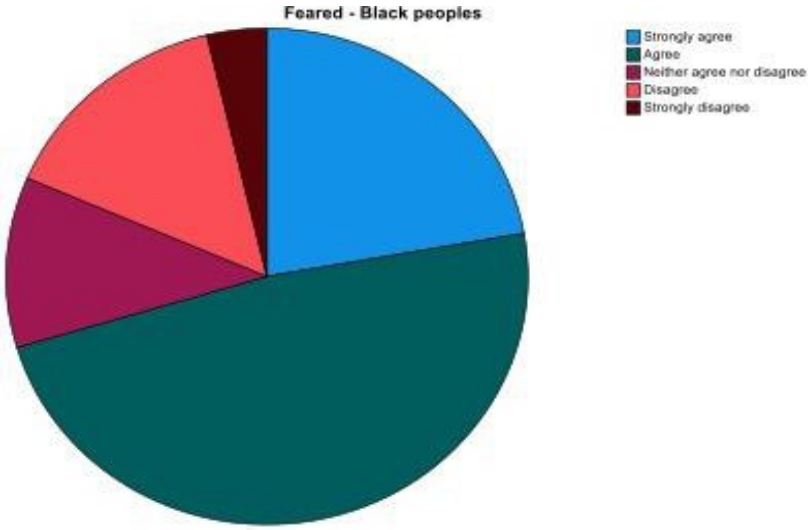


Figure 8: *Respondents' Agreement and Disagreement that Police Fear Black.*

interactions with authority figures, including from school administrators to police, and general members of society. For example, most of the research participants, including those I interviewed, contend Black people tend to be perceived to be a safety threat to Whites because of their skin colour-blackness drawing out an historical white supremacist ideology that underpins this fear of people of African descent. Charity, the woman from Calgary whose story was told in the previous chapter, expressed that the root of this scheme of domination, where White Europeans used fear as a means to an end, is as evident today as it has been historically in white supremacist societies. Showed in Figure 8 below, more than half (54 percent, N=35) of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that police are fearful of people of African descent.

None of the research participants I interviewed see themselves as a threat to the police or others in their communities. In responding to my question about whether she sees herself as a threat to a police officer and where the fear of Black people might have come from, Charity does not see herself as a threat, and she stated:

> I think it's like a historical issue. I really think it just goes back to slavery, you know, and maybe even further than that colonization and the fear that we're strong and also coming to Africa to steal resources. That's very nuanced, and I don't fully understand, but it's really been in fear and wanting to dominate, I think, at the end of the day.

From Charity's perspective, we can see that fear, in concert with the labelling of people of African descent as ferocious, has served as a justification for the practices that obliterated families on the continent of Africa for centuries, from slavery to colonialism, leaving, especially mothers, the young and the old of the continent in constant states of intense sorrow, pain and rumination over the swift and untimely loss of their loved ones that continues to date. I examined the intersection of gender and city of residence on the general coding references to the White Supremacy theme, shown in Table 12 below.

This analysis revealed that, overall, research participants from Lethbridge, accounted for 58 percent (N=1025) of the coding references to White Supremacy. In particular, references from the stories of Black male youth from Lethbridge accounted for 44 percent of the content coded to White Supremacy (n=448). In other words, Black male youth from this city were more likely to express sentiments that appeared consequential to them being identified as Black in Southern Alberta, where, for example, they were often the only Black students in their classes, if not the entire school. White Supremacy also contained two sub-themes, one of which I named Stereotypes, the most prominent sub-theme with 254 coding references, and a primary code and four sub-codes, as shown in Table 12 below.

Table 12

White Supremacy Codes and Their Distribution Based on Black Youth's Identified.

Codes	Calgary (n=18)	Calgary (n=18)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Medicine Hat (n=1)	Other (n=1)	
	Male (n=6)	Female (n=12)	Male (n=7)	Female (n=8)	Female (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Total (n=37)
Legacies	23	38	14	17	1	1	94
Colonialism	23	32	15	14	1	1	86
MisEducation	23	24	14	13	1	1	76
Slavery	0	14	2	2	0	0	18
Stereotypes	31	36	92	25	0	1	185
Media Depictions & Impact on Perceptions	30	33	89	24	0	1	177
Of Black People	23	22	89	23	0	1	158
Deviance, Violence & Criminality	18	20	86	22	0	1	147
Racial Profiling	12	4	46	5	0	0	67
Of Police	5	11	1	0	0	0	17
Total	188	234	448	145	3	7	1025

Note. Generate in NVivo. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research participants who identified their genders and city of residence. In highlight are the sub-themes.

5.2.2.1 Stereotypes

Stereotypes contained instances where Black youth in this study associated their differential societal experiences with the media's negative and stereotypical portrayal of Black people as thugs, gang members, criminals or violent. This sub-theme also included instances where research participants mentioned media images of police violence towards a Black person, influencing their perception of Police in Southern Alberta.

However, these instances were few, as shown in Table 12 above: Of Police. As such, Media Depictions and Impact on Perceptions is the primary code within this sub-theme, with 'Of Black' and 'Of Police' as the secondary codes. Figure 9 below shows the codes highlighting the negative media depictions of Black people based on this data. Notice, based on the perspectives of the Black youth in this study, the descriptions of Black people as deviant, violent, and criminals are often more consequential to how they are viewed and responded to as Black youth in Southern Alberta beyond their experiences with the police. This code (Deviance, Violence & Criminality) accounted for 38 percent (N=444) of the coding references or content I coded to the media depictions of Black people.

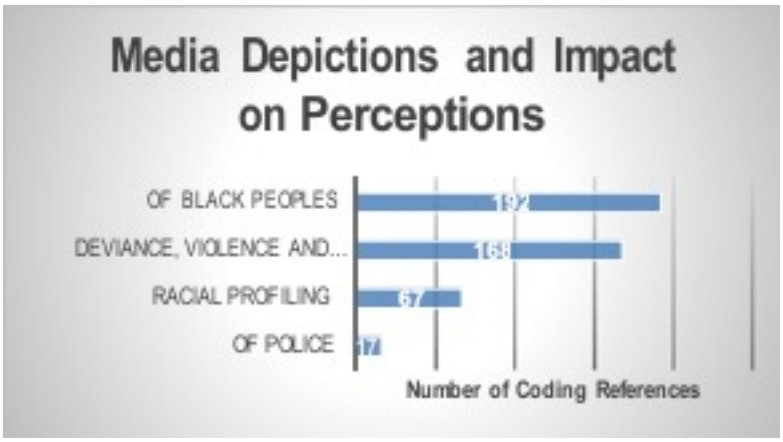


Figure 9: *Frequencies of Coding References to the Negative Media Depictions of Black People.*

In the extract below, Jamal explained how the negative media depiction of Black people impacted his junior high and high school experiences as a Black youth in Lethbridge. He stated:

> Not just policing and also other white kids, and they feel based on you being black, … you are a threat because, you know. … They viewed me as, Oh, you're strong … even like in the movies where they portray … you know, oh you're a thug or … the way you dress also resemble something … like … you look like, you know, one of those music rappers … or you are in a gang or … you do drugs.

Jamal's physique, the media depiction of Black youth and their dressing styles in music videos intersect to have influenced his White schoolmates' associations of him with gangs and drugs and provoked him to engage in physical altercations by calling him the "N" word. In one instance, Jamal recalled being pushed or bumped into a locker and stated, "So that became personal, and then that's when I reacted." When a Black youth reacts to such provocations and physical and psychological abuse in schools in a society where they are already labelled as violent, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy[13], paving the way for their first interactions with police officers within the schools, generally known as School Resource Officers (SRO). As previous findings have established, Black youth

[13] Black youth engage in school fights because they are inertly violent, and White youth need protection from them. White Europeans have used a similar logic to legitimize the violence they enacted toward their ancestors through slavery and colonialism.

between the ages of 13 and 15 from Lethbridge were more likely to encounter police than Black youth from Calgary.

This study also revealed that Black youth tend to be perceived as trouble in Southern Alberta schools as Adge, a male research participant from Calgary expressed in the reference below. I asked him where the notion of Black youth being "trouble" at school comes from, and he stated:

> I would say you could say television, but if you want to get really truthful, it all starts in the schools man. Yeah, because you have teachers that are small town teachers that grew up and they never saw a Black person in their lives. If they ever see a Black person is on television or in the news. [Most times these teachers do not take the time to] like having a conversation to get to understand that kid [they perceived as trouble]. That it doesn't matter, their culture, or the colour but they're quick to go to the principal's office. Right? And then you just start to embed this thing, oh, this person is trouble. They cause trouble. They deserve to be punished and punishment is being sent somewhere besides where the normal people hanging out. [Adge continued] I can't even tell you how many times I spent in a principal's office as a kid … [instead of] just sit with me to have a conversation to explain certain things.

School disciplinary measures and the frequency with which Black youth are subjected to them, from being sent to a principal's office to being suspended, carry an underlining message from mainstream society associating Black youth with deviancy. Kim, a female research participant from Lethbridge, explained this association in the excerpt below:

> …Within schools like suspensions. When you, when you present your Black population as the ones that you know, are suspended the most, you're putting out a message out there and that I think … [they are] just trouble I guess.

It would appear that to Black youth in Southern Alberta, their emotional or physical well-being is not always a priority for school administrators as much as their efforts to establish their perceived notions of Black youth aggression. Based on Kim's extract above, specific school disciplinary responses (like suspensions or expulsions, especially after defending themselves) result in labelling Black youth as violent, deviant and criminals, this, in turn, becomes foundational to their differential treatment by the police in Southern Alberta, including their subjection to racial profiling, which represented seven

percent (N=1025) of those references coded to the White Supremacy theme. Accordingly, the Black youth in this project interpreted their experiences in schools and with the police as manifestations of the legacies of slavery and colonialism, the second White Supremacy theme, with 128 coding references to it.

5.2.2.2 Legacies

Skin colour-blackness continues to be the primary indicator of whether or not Black youth will be perceived to be aggressive and in need of containment to the standards of a 'civilized' society. As such, Legacies as a sub-theme underscored the associations that research participants made between their differential experiences by the police and the community in general as a consequence of the legacies of slavery and colonialism. As shown in Table 12, page 126 above, this sub-theme also contained MisEducation as a code under colonialism to highlight research participants' disappointment and frustrations around not learning enough about slavery or Black history in their high schools in Southern Alberta. Abile, a woman from Calgary, indicated she began researching and learning about the atrocities of slavery and its continued impact on the lives of people of African descent after seeing media reports of Trayvon Martin, a then 17 yeas-old African American youth who was shot and killed in the U.S. in 2012. Abile reflects on what she has learnt about slavery and the consequences of teaching history only partially below. She stated learning about slavery has so far been:

> Sad, but you know, if you're not educated about any about something, there is no way that you can [learn] about it unless you read about it unless you're taught about it … So, I mean, they don't teach … about what happened during the slave trade in classes. No, they don't teach that in high school. You know, I went to high school here [in Calgary], and we learned about World War One and World War Two. We learn about the Holocaust, you know, all those genocides, like in European countries, but they don't talk about the slave trade.

When education systems in Southern Alberta fail Black youth, Abile asked how she could have known about racial discrimination. Abile recalls instances

where she experienced racial discrimination and microaggression from her schoolmates and teachers while in high school but did not fully understand that it was racism that she was experiencing. That was because, Abile continued, "They [school authorities] didn't teach you this stuff so that you don't know that they [were] out of line. You don't know how to respond" to instances of racism and racial discrimination when one does not have the language to describe what one is experiencing, is a danger and consequence of teaching partial history in our school systems in Southern Alberta. Partial teaching of history also sustains a Western cultural understanding that paints people of African descent as deviants and violent, perhaps impacting the conduct of future police officers in their encounters with Black people in Southern Alberta.

As shown in Table 12, page 126 above, research participants from Calgary were more likely to have talked about the legacies of slavery and colonialism as consequences of their experiences with differential treatment in Southern Alberta, particularly the female participants. Black female youth from Calgary accounted for 40 percent (n=38) of the coding references to legacies, compared to 18 percent (n=17) of their female counterparts in Lethbridge. Conversely, Black youth from Lethbridge in this study reflected more on stereotypes impacting their experiences in this city, notably by Black male participants. Compared to their Calgary male counterparts, who sat at 12 percent (n=18), Black male youth from Lethbridge accounted for 59 percent (n=86) of the coding references to the deviance, violence and criminality stereotyping of Black people in a White Supremacist society. Black male youth from Lethbridge that referenced the content coded to deviance, violence and criminality were also more likely to have encountered police while driving or being passengers in vehicles driven by other Black youth.

This project's primary objective was to validate the experiences of Black youth and amplify their voices. Covert white supremacy[14] allows for the labelling and profiling of Black youth in this study in their various schools and communities in Southern Alberta, including their subjection to hostile police practices, like harassment and intimidation. These practices often impacted these youth's emotional, psychological, physiological, and general well-being as demonstrated by the stories and references gathered under the theme of responses discussed in the next section.

5.2.3 Responses

Table 13
Responses Codes and Their distribution Based on Black Youth's Identified Gender and City of Residence.

Codes	Calgary (n=18)	Calgary (n=18)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Medicine Hat (n=1)	Other (n=1)	
	Male (n=6)	Female (n=12)	Male (n=7)	Female (n=8)	Female (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Total (n=37)
RESPONSES	108	86	135	116	2	2	449
Coping Strategies	28	12	17	7	1	0	65
Family	4	3	0	0	0	0	7
Minimizing or Self Blame	16	3	9	4	0	0	32
Peer & Humour	4	4	12	2	0	0	22
Religious Spirituality	18	10	14	6	1	0	49
Therapy	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
Unresolved Trauma	4	2	0	0	1	0	7
Performance & Routines	13	2	10	5	0	0	30
Alertness	8	2	2	2	0	0	14
Stay Calm	6	0	7	2	0	0	15
Physiological	3	7	22	13	0	2	47
Anxiousness	1	1	6	2	0	0	10
Crying	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
Nervousness	2	0	10	0	0	0	12
Panicking	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
Praying	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Relieved	0	6	3	3	0	2	14
Shakiness	0	1	6	4	0	0	11
Psychological	79	70	111	105	2	0	367
Annoyed	34	44	57	56	1	0	192
Embarrassment or Ashamed	1	1	2	1	0	0	5
Frustrated & Disappointed	40	56	65	71	1	0	233
Paranoid	12	9	0	8	0	0	29
Startled	31	6	25	21	0	0	83
Total	413	326	515	433	9	6	1702

[14] The control of the school curriculum that excludes the explicit teachings of the atrocities associated with slavery and the slave trade exemplified an act of covert white supremacy in this project.

Note. Generated in NVivo. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research participants who identified their genders and city of residence. Highlighted are the sub-themes.

Responses were the most prominent theme from the data, with 913 aggregated references, as presented in Figures 4 and 5, pages 112 and 113, above. This theme encompasses actions, emotions, feelings, and practices that I classified as physiological, psychological, performances, routines and coping strategies that Black youth in this study have engaged in during or after their encounters with police in Southern Alberta based on their recollections of those interactions. Broadly, the coding references to the Responses theme were more prominent for research participants from Lethbridge. Black youth from this city accounted for 56 percent (N=449) of the content coded to this theme, compared to 43 percent for Black youth from Calgary. My exploration of the distribution of the coding references by Black youth's identified gender and age also revealed Black male youth and those aged 25-30 spoke more about the reactions and responses contained within this theme. For instance, Black youth aged 25-30 represented 51 percent (N=449) of the references to the Responses theme.

I categorized Responses[15] into four sub-themes: Psychological, Physiological, Performances and Routines, and Coping Strategies, to further explore research participants' reactions and responses to their encounters with police. Table 13 above shows the codes and their distribution based on Black youth's gender identity and city of residence.

5.2.3.1 Psychological

My analysis shows that the Psychological responses were the most prominent as a sub-theme, with 585 coding references. These were present where a participant's response implied a sense of fear, frustration, disappointment, annoyance, or psychological reaction during or after an interaction with police.

[15] Note that I intentionally avoid classifying Black youth's reactions and responses as emotional reactions or responses because "emotional reactions" can be perceived as irrational reactions. From my perspective, these youth's accounts, and associated reactions to their interactions with police and others in authority in Southern Alberta are not delusional but real experiences and justified reactions to their treatment.

As a sub-theme, Psychological comprised five codes (Annoyed, embarrassment or ashamed, frustrated, disappointed, paranoid and startled), as shown in Figure 10 below. For example, Rubin stated he was scared and nervous during one of his encounters with police in Calgary. He stated: "I mean, at first I was scared and nervous." I coded Rubin's extract above as: startled, a code within the Psychological sub-theme. Psychological responses were more prominent for Black youth in this study who were from Lethbridge (216), as well as Black male youth (190) and those who encountered police as pedestrians (138).

As shown in Figure 10 below, Frustrated and Disappointed, Annoyed, and Startled were the three prominent codes within the Psychological responses, with each representing 43 percent, 36 percent and 15 percent, respectively, of the coding references to this sub-theme (N=540). Below is an example of an extract I coded as an expression of frustration that Rubin articulated over his multiple encounters with police as a pedestrian in Calgary. Rubin described his frustration as follows:

> I mean, the first, the first interaction, okay, I can, I can see that. And you know, and just keep it as it is but multiple interactions on the same day on the same corner same time.

Rubin's experience of having multiple police encounters is also associated with police harassment. Police can also interpret frustration from a Black youth as disrespect even though such reactions were due to multiple unwanted encounters with police, as Rubin expressed above.

My analysis further reveals that the coding references to Frustrated and Disappointed were more present for participants from Lethbridge, similar to the Psychological responses sub-theme. Black youth from this city accounted for 73 percent (N=195) of the content I coded as Black youth's expressions of frustration and disappointment resulting from their interactions with police. Expressions of frustration and disappointment were also more prominent for Black youth aged 25-30 and those who encountered police as pedestrians, with each group accounting for 46 percent (N=233) and 38 percent (N=159) of the content

referenced to this code, respectively. Additionally, Black male youth aged 25-30 represented 28 percent of the content coded as frustrated and disappointed, compared to 18 percent of their female counterparts(N=233).

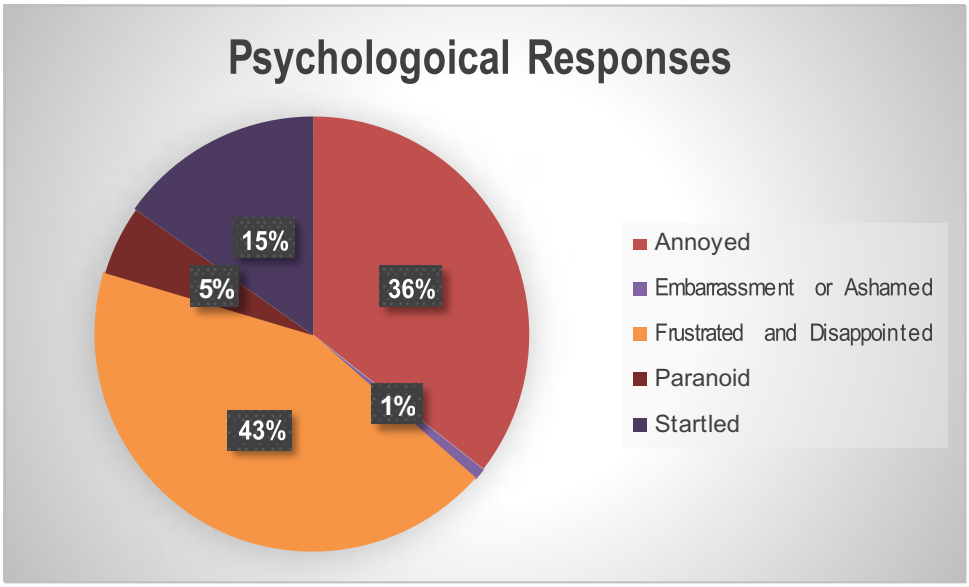


Figure 10: *Psychological Codes and their Percentages of Prominence.*

Moreover, I also explore the distribution of the coding to Annoyed, the second prominent code, as shown in Figure 10 above, based on research participants' identified city, type of encounter, age group and gender. This analysis reveals that references to the content I coded as feelings of annoyance were also more prominent for Black youth from Lethbridge and youth who interacted with police as pedestrians, with each group accounting for 73 percent (N=135) and 39 percent (N=135) of the references to annoyance, respectively. The references to annoyance were also identical for research participants between the ages of 20-24 (n=84) and 25-30 (n=83).

Black youth from both age groups accounted for 47 percent (N=192) of the references to annoyance. The data analysis also indicates the references to the third prominent code, startled, were once again more present for research participants from Lethbridge, 57 percent, and more so for those who encountered police as motorists, 36 percent (N=75). References to this code were also

prominent for research participants between 25-30 years old, and those who identified as Black male youth within this age category accounted for 52 percent (N=83) of these references. My coding showed that their encounters with police also induced responses that I classified as Physiological.

5.2.3.2 Physiological

Physiological responses were present where Black youth reported freezes, crying, or shaking during or after their interactions with police. These responses also included nervousness, anxiousness, panicking, and feeling relieved, as shown in Figure 11 below. A sense or feeling of relief was the most prominent code under this sub-theme. For Black youth in this project, feelings of relief mainly occurred at the end of their encounters with police, and this code accounted for 27 percent (N=52) of the content coded as Physiological responses. For example, below is an extract from a survey respondent answering, "How did you feel afterward?" which I coded as Relieved: "Relieved and thankful that the experience I had with this female officer went smoothly." This respondent seemed startled and in anticipation during their interaction with the police. As such, an end to this encounter may seem like a heavy weight was lifted off them, providing a sign of relief.

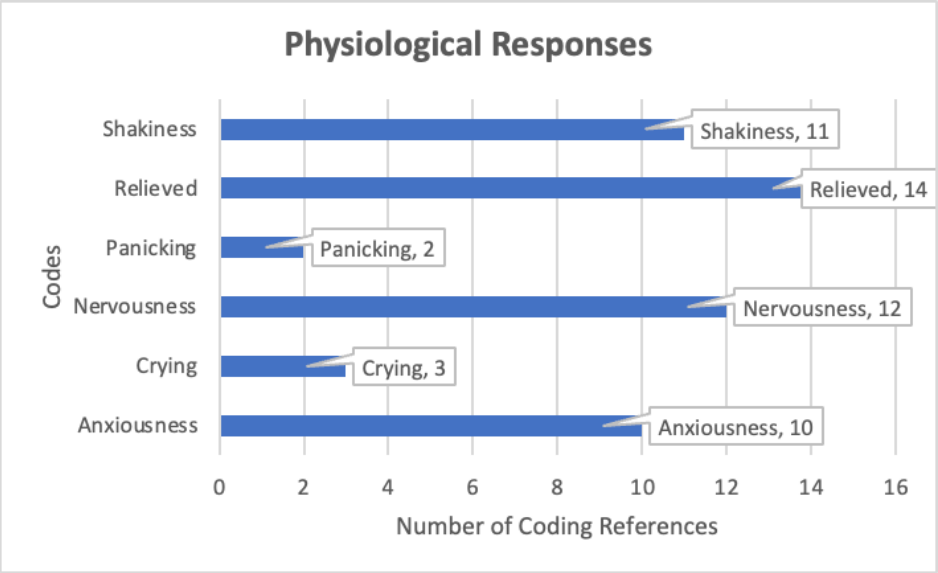


Figure 11: *Physiological Responses and Their Prominence.*

Unlike the Psychological responses that were more prominent for Black youth who encountered police as pedestrians, research participants who interacted with police as motorists, especially between 5 pm and 4 am, accounted for most of the content I coded as Physiological responses. For instance, Black male youth who interacted with police as motorists between 5 pm and 4 am accounted for 85 percent (N=27) of the references to this sub-theme. Black youth from Lethbridge also accounted for 74 percent (N=47) of the references to physiological responses. These findings were similar to those displayed in Figure 6 previously, within the policing theme, where research participants from Lethbridge and those who interacted with police as motorists between 5 pm and 4 am accounted for more of the references to that theme.

Further analysis revealed Black youth's mention of shakiness, anxiousness, and nervousness were more prominent for those in Lethbridge. For example, a Black male youth from this city represented 83 percent (N=12) of the references to being nervous during their encounters with police. I want to emphasize again police could misconstrue the appearance of nervousness, shakiness, or anxiousness during an encounter as suspicious reactionary behaviour despite the

likelihood that the presence of an officer alone could aggravate any or all of these reactions in Black youth.

5.2.3.3 Performance and Routines

Accordingly, Black youth in this project have engaged in practices that I categorize as performance and routines to reduce or to avoid drawing police attention to them when possible. Any of these efforts could be challenging for Black youth in a society where their skin colour-blackness, by default, often renders them suspicious. The Performances and Routines sub-theme comprised two codes, Alertness and Stay Calm, with 42 coding references, shown in Table 13, at page 131 earlier. For example, in the extract below, Rashid, a young Black man from Lethbridge, pointed out that holding his hands behind his back is calming and a sign of cultural respect to someone in authority, like the police. He explained: "When you're talking to someone … respectful, you're trying to stay calm, put your hands behind your back and just let them know like, I'm not trying to cause any harm to you." As he indicates, Rashid putting his hands behind his back was a sign of respect and a means to calm his nervousness during his encounter with the police. Adge, a young Black man from Calgary, also described an act he performed when he encountered police. He stated, "Make sure that like the car engines turned off. I was like, let me do everything in my power so that nothing … I'm like, make sure I don't get shot today." As such, I coded that practice as an example of Performances or Routines that Black youth in this study often engaged in to avoid police suspicion and adverse outcomes from their encounters. The fear that Black people have for their safety during such interactions could also produce physiological reactions that police interpret as suspicious behaviours.

The research participants in this project constantly check their speedometers, rear-view mirrors and surroundings as part of their Routines while driving, to ensure they are not speeding above the limit and police are not

following them. References to this sub-theme were similar for those from Calgary and Lethbridge. However, the references to Performances and Routines were more present for male participants in both cities, 77 percent (N=30) and motorists, 100 percent (N=28). Where their efforts to avoid police interactions failed, the data revealed some of the Black youth in this study had developed ways of dealing with the aftermaths of their encounters, as displayed in Figure 12 below.

5.2.3.4 Coping Strategies

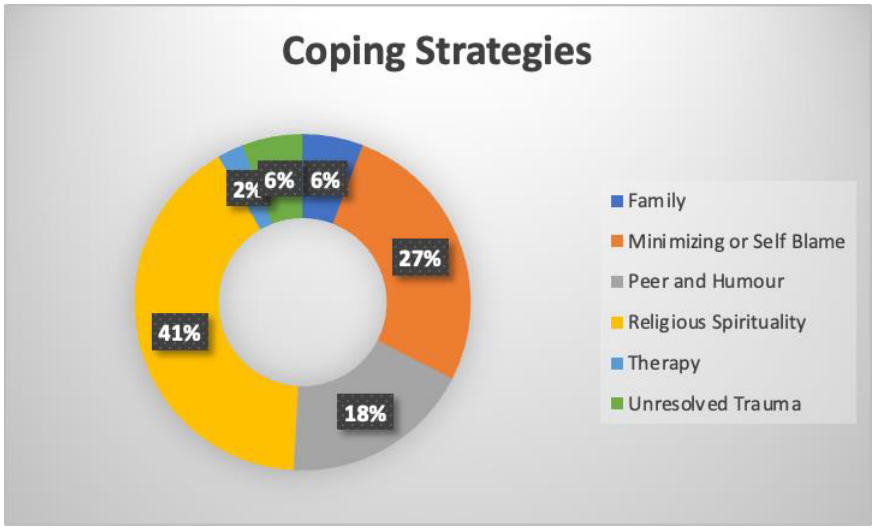


Figure 12: *Prominent Coping Strategies in the Data.*

Coping strategies were the second prominent sub-theme coded under responses, with 153 coding references. This sub-theme focused on how Black youth in this project cope with the aftershocks of their interactions with police in Southern Alberta. For example, one survey respondent described how they managed after interacting with police as follows: "How did you cope with this?" following their accounts of their encounter with the police: "I was just grateful that nothing bad happened. I didn't do anything in particular to cope because I understand this is just a part of life." In this example, I coded "…I understand this is just a part of life" as an example of a Black youth minimizing the impact of the encounters on them.

Overall, the data showed the three prominent coping strategies were religious spirituality (41 percent), minimizing or self-blame (27 percent) and peer and humour (18 percent), shown in Figure 12 above (N=120). My analysis shows that the references to coping strategies are more prominent for research participants from Calgary, who identify as male and who encountered police as motorists. For instance, Black youth from Calgary accounted for 62 percent (N=65). In comparison, young Black men also represented 65 percent (N=49) of the content coded to this sub-theme.

Further analysis revealed that the coding references to Minimizing or Self-blaming as a coping strategy were more prominent for male participants from Calgary and those who interacted with police as motorists. Specifically, male motorists accounted for 50 percent (N=28) of the content coded as Minimizing or Self-blame in the data. Unlike Black youth from Calgary who minimized their encounters or engaged in self-blame, the data showed that Black youth from Lethbridge had a greater tendency to use their Peers and Humour as a coping strategy, accounting for 55 percent (N=22) of the references to this code. This coping strategy was also common among Black youth who encountered police as motorists, especially Black male research participants. Below is an example of an extract coded as a peer and humour coping strategy:

> "My friends and I laughed it off, but I was still on edge until I got home."

The calling of a friend who might have had a similar interaction is exemplary of this type of coping strategy. In addition to these individual responses, I also explored research participants' sense of belonging in their communities and Canada in both the interviews and surveys.

5.2.4 Belonging

Table 14
Belonging Codes and Distribution Based on Black Youth's Identified Gender and City of Residence.

	Calgary (n=18)	Calgary (n=18)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Lethbridge (n=16)	Brooks (n=1)	Medicine Hat (n=1)	Other (n=1)	
Codes	Male (n=6)	Female (n=12)	Male (n=7)	Female (n=8)	Non-binary (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Female (n=1)	Total (n=37)
BELONGING	20	36	33	43	4	1	1	7	145
A Place	0	11	3	10	3	0	0	3	30
Feeling of Acceptance	18	26	37	42	4	0	1	4	132
Sense of Community	9	12	18	11	2	1	0	5	58
Total	47	85	91	106	13	2	2	19	365

Note. Generated in NVivo. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research participants who contributed qualitative data and identified their genders and city of residence.

Belonging was the fourth prominent theme that emerged from the data, with 308 coding references to it. This theme emphasized instances where participants mentioned a feeling of belonging or not due to their experiences of differential treatment in their communities. For example, below was an extract from Charity, coded to belonging as a sense of community:

> It's like oftentimes you can feel like you're alone; all your experiences are only your own. But then, when you speak to people who look like you [and] have had similar experiences in a situation and like a bigger context, sometimes it can be frustrating because you realize all the bad stuff is systemic, right? But then, in another way, you feel that kind of solidarity, which is really powerful, I think.

Charity's sense of belonging comes from interacting with people with shared experiences; it is, therefore, relational, and not individual. The data analysis revealed that Black youth from Lethbridge and female Black youth's overrepresentation in the coding references to the Policing, White Supremacy and Responses themes was consistent with the coding references to Belonging as a theme. For example, research participants from Lethbridge accounted for 55 percent (N=145) of the reference to Belonging.

I categorized belonging into three sub-codes highlighting Black youth's conceptions of belonging. These codes were belonging as a Feeling of Acceptance, a Sense of Community, and a Place. These codes and their distribution are shown in Table 14 above. Further, Figure 13 below shows the codes and their

representational percentages within the theme, wherein belonging as a Feeling of Acceptance was the most prominent, containing 60 percent (N=217) of the coding references. Figure 13 also indicates that belonging as a Sense of Community represented 26 percent while belonging as a Place accounted for 14 percent of the references to Belonging as a theme (N=217). Belonging as a place speaks to the desires of Black youth to be somewhere where they would not see themselves much as minorities, like in an African country. In the following, I explore the distribution of the coding references to each of the three codes based on the research participants' identified gender, city of residence, and type of encounter with police.

Results from this analysis reveal that references to belonging as a Feeling of Acceptance were also prominent for female research participants, accounting for 55 percent and 62 percent of participants from Lethbridge (N=132). A survey respondent articulated their sense of belonging as follows: "Seeing others come out to appreciate and celebrate other cultures is something I do enjoy." Police practices that appear to target them do not promote participants' sense of acceptance in this study. This extract exemplifies the references to belonging that I coded under participants' descriptions of the practices that promote their Feeling of Acceptance, thereby belonging in Southern Alberta. Unlike research participants who interacted with police as pedestrians (42 percent), motorists represented slightly over half or 52 percent (N=103) of the references to this code: Feeling of Acceptance. In other words, motorists in this study do not feel a sense of acceptance due to their experiences from their encounters with police.

The data analysis further reveals that there is not much difference between male and female participants in their discussions of belonging as a Sense of Community, although female participants had a slight lead. For instance, the contributions of female participants accounted for 48 percent, while male participants accounted for 45 percent (N=60) of the references to belonging as

a Sense of Community. The extract below exemplifies a reference to belonging that I coded as a Sense of Community. For example, one participant responded to the question of what gives them a sense of belonging as follows:

> Being in the Black community, especially living in a predominantly white province such as Alberta, makes me feel safe and seen. There are some struggles that only we go through and can relate to. When experiencing those, I feel like I am not alone.

References belonging to a Sense of Community were more prominent for male research participants who encountered police as motorists, 43 percent (N=44) and relied on their friends to cope. There appears to be an association between male participants' use of their peers and humour as a coping strategy to fortify their sense of belonging and a sense of community. Calling a friend immediately after an encounter with police can be an example of a community of people with shared experiences.

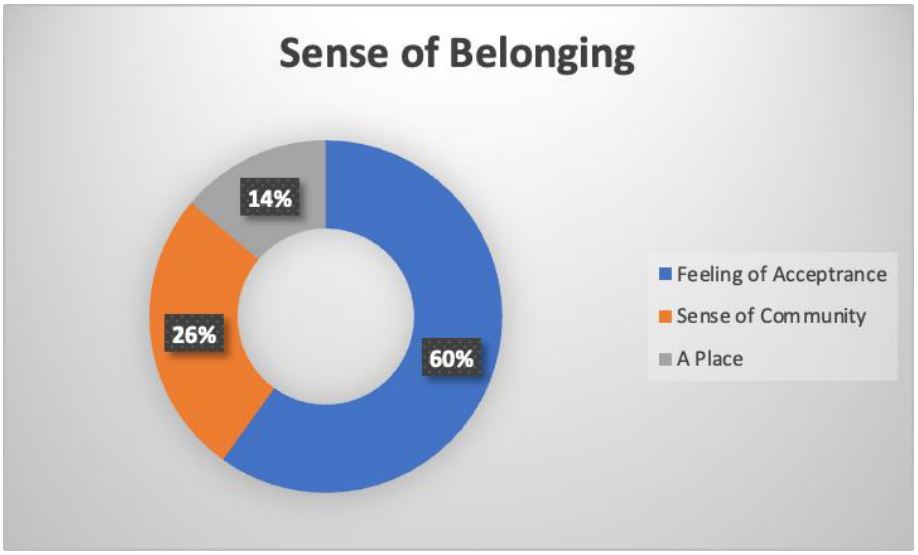


Figure 13: *Belonging as a Feeling of Acceptance, Community & Place.*

I also gauge Black youth's sense of belonging in their city and communities in light of their experiences and interactions with police, using a five-point Likert scale[16]. A cross-tabulation of the survey respondents' perceived sense of

[16] Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree nor Disagree (NAD), Disagree (D, and Strongly Disagree (SD).

belonging in their city revealed varying degrees of agreement and disagreement to belonging in Canada, Alberta, city, and Black communities.

For instance, survey respondents from Lethbridge were slightly more likely to agree or strongly agree that they belong in Canada, 60 percent, compared to their Calgary counterparts, who stood at 53 percent (N=35). Survey respondents from Calgary had an equal percentage of disagreement (13 percent) with the idea that they felt they belonged in Alberta and their city. However, 40 percent of survey respondents from Lethbridge disagreed or strongly disagreed that they belonged in Alberta, and 33 percent (N=35) also felt they did not belong in their city.

I applied Spearman's (rho) rank-order correlations coefficient test to 16 the data to explore the relationships between age at first interaction with police, the frequency of interaction, whether respect or physical abuse was present, the frequency of searches during stops while driving, and the research participant's sense of belonging in their cities of residence, in Alberta, and in Canada more broadly. This is shown in Table 15 below. Results from this analysis showed that among Black youth in this study, there was a moderate positive and significant rank-order correlation between respect during stop and belonging in Alberta, r_s = -.523*, n =16, p = .038. This analysis also revealed a strong positive and significant rank-order correlation among the youth in this project, between their sense of belonging in their cities of residence and their sense of belonging in Alberta, r_s = .740**, n = 35, p = <.001. This last reported p-value of less than one percent shows that I am 99 percent confident that the observed association between a Black youth in this study's sense of belonging in their city and the province of Alberta did not occur by chance.

Table 15

Spearman Rank-Order Correlations Between Age at First Contact, Frequency of Contact, Respect, Physical Abuse, Frequency of Searches During a Stop While Driving, and Belonging in City, Alberta, and Canada.

	Age at First Interaction with Police	Number Times Interacted with Police	Respectful During Stop	Physically Abused	Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	Belong in my City	Belong in Alberta	Belong in Canada
Age at First Interaction with Police	1.000							
Number Times Interacted with Police	-.342	1.000						
Respectful During Stop	-.218	.248	1.000					
Physically Abused	-.296	.142	.386	1.000				
Number of Times Searched During Stop While Driving	.431	-.416	-.177	-.289	1.000			
Belong in my City	.296	.076	.403	.030	-.269	1.000		
Belong in Alberta	.218	.140	.523*	-.177	-.269	.740**	1.000	
Belong in Canada	-.072	.032	.342	-.170	.098	.114	.176	1.000

Notes. Generated from SPSS. *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Strength of Relationship: 0.3 = Weak, 0.5 = Moderate and 0.7 = Strong (Noack, 2018).

Using a cross-tabulation, I also explored the extent to which Black youth's age impacts their perceived sense of belonging in their cities, Alberta, Canada, and their Black communities. Results from this analysis, as shown in Table 16 below, revealed that participants between the ages of 25-30 had a strong sense of belonging in their Black communities, in Canada and the province of Alberta. Eighty-two percent (N=35) of survey respondents within this age group agreed or strongly agreed that they belong in their Black communities, as shown in Table 16 below. In contrast, survey respondents aged 25-30 were less likely to agree

(27 percent, N=35) and more likely to disagree or strongly disagree (36 percent, N=35) that they belong in their cities than survey respondents aged 16-19 and 20-24.

Note that Black youth aged 25-30 and those from Lethbridge accounted for most of the content coded to the Policing and Responses themes, as previously shown. As such, there seems to be an association, for example, between Black youth of this age group's experiences with targeted hostile policing, like harassment and intimidation and the toll these practices have on their psychological well-being and their sense of belonging in cities of residence. Consequently, the data showed that these experiences and their impacts on Black youth in Southern Alberta appeared to have affected their attitudes toward the police and perception of police bias in dealing with youth who share their skin colour. This is what I will discuss in the next section.

Table 16
Sense of Belonging in City, Alberta, Canada, and Black Communities by Survey Respondents' Age Groups.

		Age Group					
		16-19		20-24		25-30	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
Belong in Canada	SA	0	0.0%	5	41.7%	3	27.3%
	A	4	33.3%	3	25.0%	5	45.5%
	NAD	6	50.0%	3	25.0%	2	18.2%
	D	2	16.7%	1	8.3%	1	9.1%
	SD	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Belong in Alberta	SA	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	0	0.0%
	A	5	41.7%	4	33.3%	5	45.5%
	NAD	3	25.0%	5	41.7%	3	27.3%
	D	3	25.0%	0	0.0%	1	9.1%
	SD	0	0.0%	2	16.7%	2	18.2%
Belong in my City	SA	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	0	0.0%
	A	6	50.0%	6	50.0%	3	27.3%
	NAD	3	25.0%	4	33.3%	4	36.4%
	D	1	8.3%	0	0.0%	2	18.2%
	SD	1	8.3%	1	8.3%	2	18.2%
Belong in Black community	SA	3	25.0%	3	25.0%	1	9.1%
	A	6	50.0%	1	8.3%	8	72.7%
	NAD	1	8.3%	6	50.0%	1	9.1%
	D	2	16.7%	1	8.3%	0	0.0%
	SD	0	0.0%	1	8.3%	1	9.1%

Note. Generated from SPSS. F = Frequency, % = Percentage. SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, NAD = Neither Agree nor Disagree, D = Disagree, & SD = Strongly Disagree.

5.2.4.1 Perception of Police

I measured research participants' perception of the police through the online survey, using the Perceptions of Police Scale (POPS)[17] that Nadal and Davidoff (2015) created. My analysis of the QUAL data also revealed that Perception of Police was the most noticeable sub-theme of the policing theme, as shown in Table 9, page 121 above. It consists of two codes: positive and negative and has 401 references coded to it. The extract below exemplifies the kinds of statements that are coded to this sub-theme. For instance, in what follows, Alice expressed her feelings of police betrayal: "I feel like you're supposed to be able to, like, very much trust police officers and that they shouldn't like, first assume maybe that you've done something wrong." Alice is one of the research participants whose story was discussed in the previous chapter. She was questioned for about an hour in a police cruiser in the parking lot behind the police station in Lethbridge. The assumption of guilt that Alice describes can be related to the previous discussion of stereotyping.

The survey and QUAL data analysis reveals that Black youth have an overall negative view of the police across this study. For instance, more than 46 percent of the survey respondents' overall view of the police was negative, compared to 34 percent who viewed the police positively, and 20 percent noted that it's complicated (N=35). The data also showed that more than half of the survey respondents (51 percent, N=35) disagree or strongly disagree that "The police are trustworthy." This is compared to the 39 percent of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed with the same statement. Twenty percent of the respondents neither agreed nor disagreed that the police are trustworthy (N=35). In my exploration of the intersection of gender and the survey respondents' trust in the police, the analysis revealed that 57 percent of females (compared to 36 percent of male respondents) disagreed or strongly disagreed that police are

[17] POPS is 12 items and a five-point Likert scale that measure respondents' general attitudes toward police and their perceptions of police bias(Nadal et al., 2017; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015).

trustworthy (N=35). Additionally, 48 percent of female survey respondents were also more likely to disagree or strongly disagree that police are reliable compared to the male survey respondents, who stood at 27 percent. The analysis of the survey data further shows that the perceptions of police bias among Black youth were even stronger in the data, as shown in Table 17 below. I discovered that 80 percent of the survey respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, "Police do not discriminate" (N=35). This result is striking compared to the 6 percent who agreed or strongly agreed and the 14 percent who neither agreed nor disagreed (N=35).

Table 17
Median and Mode of Survey Respondents' Attitudes Toward Police and Perception of Police Bias.

	Friendly	Protect me	Provide Safety	Trustworthy	Reliable	Treat all People Fairly	Do not Discriminate	Unbiased	Feel Safe Interacting
N	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
Median	3.00	3.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Mode	3	3	2	4	2	5	5	4	4

Generated from SPSS. 1 = Strongly Agree (SA), 2=Agree (A), 3 = Neither agree nor disagree (NA), 4 = Disagree (D) and 5 = Strongly Agree (SA).

As shown in Table 18 below, overwhelmingly 91 percent of the survey respondents who identified as female disagreed or strongly disagreed that "police do not discriminate." The survey results also revealed that 55 percent of male respondents also believed that police do discriminate (N=35). I observed a similar level of disagreement by women survey respondents regarding police bias. My analysis of the survey data shows that 78 percent of female identified survey respondents also disagreed or strongly disagreed that "police are unbiased" (N=35). Fifty-five percent of male identified survey respondents also held the same perception(N=35). A similar percentage of female identified survey respondents, or 78 percent, disagreed or strongly disagreed that "police treat all people fairly" (N=35) whereas only 46 percent of male identified survey respondents also believed that police do not treat all people fairly (N=35).

Consistent with findings from the survey, 78 percent of the coding references to the perception of police sub-theme were coded as negative. This code consisted of six sub-codes, listed here in the order prominence in the data and displayed in Table 13, page 131 above: Untrustworthy (70 references), Bias (52 references), Unaccountable (36 references), and Racist (7 references).

Table 18
Frequencies and Percentages of Survey Respondents' Perception of Police Bias and Gender.

		Identified Gender					
		Female		Male		Non-binary	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
Police do not	SA	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
Discriminate	A	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	NAD	2	8.7%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%
	D	10	43.5%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%
	SD	11	47.8%	3	27.3%	1	100.0%
Police Treat all	SA	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
People Fairly	A	3	13.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	NAD	2	8.7%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	D	7	30.4%	3	27.3%	1	100.0%
	SD	11	47.8%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
Police are Unbiased	SA	1	4.3%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	1	4.3%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	NAD	3	13.0%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%
	D	10	43.5%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	SD	8	34.8%	2	18.2%	1	100.0%

Note. Generated from SPSS. F = Frequency, % = Percentage. SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, NAD = Neither Agree nor Disagree, D = Disagree, & SD = Strongly Disagree.

In contrast, survey data indicates that respondents generally agreed that police provide safety (46 percent agreed or strongly agreed versus 34 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed). However, survey respondents were less likely to be confident in the police to protect them or feel safe interacting with police. This response came predominantly from female-identified survey respondents. Forty-three percent neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement "Police protect me." Sixty-one percent of the female-identified survey respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement, "I feel safe interacting with police," as shown at the bottom of Table 19 below. Recall Charity's perception from the previous chapter that police do not protect Black

women the same way they do White women. Table 19 below cross-tabulates survey respondents' attitudes toward police and their identified gender.

Table 19
Frequencies and Percentages of Survey Respondents' Attitudes Toward Police and Gender.

		Identified Gender					
		Female		Male		Non-binary	
		F	%	F	%	F	%
Police are Friendly	SA	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	6	26.1%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	NAD	11	47.8%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	D	4	17.4%	1	9.1%	1	100.0%
	SD	2	8.7%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
Police Provide Safety	SA	1	4.3%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	9	39.1%	5	45.5%	0	0.0%
	NAD	4	17.4%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%
	D	6	26.1%	1	9.1%	1	100.0%
	SD	3	13.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
Police Protect me	SA	1	4.3%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	4	17.4%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	NAD	10	43.5%	4	36.4%	1	100.0%
	D	6	26.1%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	SD	2	8.7%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
Police are Trustworthy	SA	1	4.3%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	4	17.4%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	NAD	5	21.7%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
	D	8	34.8%	3	27.3%	1	100.0%
	SD	5	21.7%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
Police are Reliable	SA	0	0.0%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
	A	7	30.4%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%
	NAD	5	21.7%	3	27.3%	1	100.0%
	D	6	26.1%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	SD	5	21.7%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
Feel Safe Interacting with Police	SA	0	0.0%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
	A	6	26.1%	4	36.4%	0	0.0%
	NAD	3	13.0%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%
	D	9	39.1%	2	18.2%	1	100.0%
	SD	5	21.7%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%

Note. Generated from SPSS. F = Frequency, % = Percentage. SA = Strongly Agree, A = Agree, NAD = Neither Agree nor Disagree, D = Disagree, & SD = Strongly Disagree

Spearman's (rho) rank-order correlations coefficient examination of the associations between a Black youth knowing someone who has interacted with police, the number of times they have interacted with police, their experiences with police physical abuse, attitudes toward police, perception of police bias, and sense of belonging revealed there are significant associations between most of these variables (see Table 20 below). For instance, according to the data,

among Black youth, there is a strong positive and significant rank-order association between police being trustworthy and police treating all people fairly, r_s = .702**, N = 35, p <.001. A p-value of <.001 means that the chances of this association occurring by accident are less than one percent. Additionally, among Black youth in this project, there was a weak positive and significant rank-order association between police do not discriminate and a sense of belonging in city, r_s = .399*, N = 35, p .018, as shown in Table 20 below. Similarly, a p- value of .018 means I am 95 percent confident that the reported association did not occur by chance.

Table 20

Spearman's Rank-Order Correlations Between Knowing Someone who has Interacted with Police, Experiences from Interactions with Police, Attitudes & Perception of Police Bias and Belonging.

	Know Someone	Number Times Interacted with Police	Physically Abused	Police are Friendly	Police Protect me	Police Provide Safety	Police are Trustworthy	Police are Reliable	Police Treat all People Fairly	Police do not Discriminate	Police are Unbiased	Belong in my City	Belong in Alberta	Belong in Canada
Know Someone	1.000													
Number Times Interacted with Police	.102	1.000												
Physically Abused	.150	.142	1.000											
Police Protect me	.122	-.057	.132	.737**	1.000									
Police Provide Safety	.048	-.092	.210	.745**	.605**	1.000								
Police are Trustworthy	.204	.098	.097	.668**	.640**	.682**	1.000							
Police are Reliable	.229	-.004	.218	.707**	.786**	.542**	.640**	1.000						
Police Treat all People Fairly	.212	.197	.114	.581**	.617**	.487**	.702**	.514**	1.000					
Police do not Discriminate	.174	.043	-.076	.633**	.532**	.536**	.513**	.428*	.767**	1.000				
Police are Unbiased	.335*	-.041	-.228	.518**	.534**	.340*	.441**	.477**	.51**	.624**	1.000			
Belong in my City	-.021	.076	.030	.500**	.328	.386*	.348*	.356*	.349*	.399*	.202	1.000		
Belong in Alberta	.005	.140	-.177	.521**	.457**	.306	.639**	.457**	.496**	.424*	.398*	.740**	1.000	
Belong in Canada	-.106	.032	-.170	-.061	-.037	-.072	-.013	-.150	.017	-.129	-.067	.114	.176	1.00

Note. *. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). Strength of Relationship: 0.3 = Weak, 0.5 = Moderate and 0.7 = Strong (Noack, 2018).

The data also reveal that the feelings of ease reported by Black youth were related to their encounters with police officers of visible minority status and, secondly, with an end of an interaction. I explore the intersection of race, gender, and other affiliations in research participants' encounters with police in the least prominent theme that emerged from the data.

5.2.5 Intersections

Table 21

Intersections Codes and Their Distribution Based on Black Youth's Identified Gender and city of Residence.

Codes	Calgary (n=18) Male (n=6)	Calgary (n=18) Female (n=12)	Lethbridge (n=16) Male (n=7)	Lethbridge (n=16) Female (n=8)	Other (n=1) Female (n=1)	Total (n=37)
INTERSECTIONS	31	45	46	39	2	163
Gender	1	13	7	1	0	22
Race & Culture	26	13	9	38	0	86
Religion	2	8	2	0	0	12
Representation	2	14	12	0	2	30
Gender in Policing	1	4	0	0	2	7
Race in Policing	1	10	10	0	0	21
Total	64	107	86	78	6	341

Note. Generated on NVivo. The frequencies in this table reflect only the data of research participants who contributed qualitative data and identified their genders and city of residence.

The Intersections' theme was the fifth most prominent theme. It primarily underscores instances where research participants believed their race or skin colour, gender, and religious affiliation together influenced their experiences in society and with the police. Abile describes herself as a Black female Muslim youth who wears a hijab publicly, revealing the intersection of race, gender and religion, shaping her identity. Intersectionality asserts that racism, gender discrimination, classism, homophobia, and other systems of oppression tend to intersect to impact others' societal oppression (Carastathis, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989; Esposito & Evans-Winters, 2022).

Abile laments how Muslims in countries like Canada and the U.S. became a target for public attacks following the September 11 (9/11) suicide al-Qaeda jihadist terrorist attacks in the U.S. in 2001. She indicates while she has not directly been called a terrorist as a hijab-wearing Muslim woman, she says her Asian and Arab hijab-wearing Muslim women have been called terrorists in public spaces in Calgary. Abile describes this experience below:

> You know, I wear my hijab and like I will say that for me personally, nobody has ever come to me and say that I'm a terrorist. Like I've never heard that nobody has come to me and said that before. But for my other friends that are Asian and Arab, they would say that they have been called terrorists.

This excerpt shows the intersection of racism and Islamophobia in shaping Abile's friends' experiences in Calgary. People of Middle Eastern descent became the target of racist attacks following 9/11, whether they were practicing Muslims or not, due to racist Islamophobes that are prevalent in Western societies. Wearing a hajib makes a female practicing Muslim identifiable as such. On the other hand, as a Black practicing Muslim man, I would have to reveal or share the knowledge that I am Muslim if my name, Ibrahim, a Muslim name, does not give that information away. In such an event, I may experience racist attacks because of the associations made about my skin colour, but not necessarily for my religious affiliation without an identifiable marker, like wearing a hijab.

Table 21 above shows the codes to this theme and their frequencies as coded to each sub-code. Here is an example of an extract from Abile's accounts of her interactions with police in Calgary, I coded this under gender, a code within this theme: "Fearful like because of because I have a brother. And what if someday he met a police and God forbid anything bad happen." From this extract, Abile was concerned for the safety of one of her brothers as a Black man in Southern Alberta. I explored references to this theme by research participants on the basis of their self-identified gender, city, and type of encounter with police.

This analysis reveals that female identified research participants accounted for slightly more than half, 53 percent, of the coding references to Intersections (n=163). Similarly, the references to this code were also more prominent for Black youth from Lethbridge, 53 percent (N=161). Moreover, Black male youth who encountered police as motorists represented 41 percent (N=145) of the references coded to the theme, and motorists generally accounted for 59 percent of the references coded to this theme.

I categorized the data coded to this theme into four sub-codes, shown in the Figure 14 below. Race and Culture were the most prominent, representing 48 percent (N=177) of the references to Intersections. Race and Culture were present

where participants perceived race or a lack of understanding of the Black culture as a factor in their differential societal experiences.

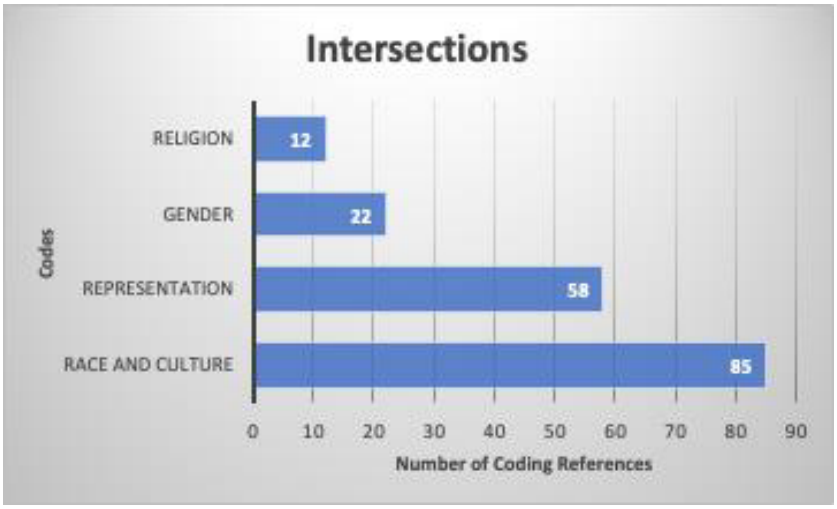


Figure 14: *The Dominant Codes in Intersections Theme.*

To illustrates, I coded extract below from Adge's narrative as Race and Culture:

> I think people are afraid of what they don't know or don't understand. And they're also afraid of what the what they see all the time and you think about it, the media is able to put whatever they want in front of our faces. … Nobody knows Black culture.

Adge elaborates that by Black culture, he meant the following:

> It means that individual upholds their status, their culture, their country's standard of living, per se, right. Like if they're from Jamaica, they gather together and have music and food. Like that's a culture, right I mean. People fear what they don't understand.

From the extract above, Adge believed the assumed threat that Black people seem to represent in society has resulted from a lack of understanding of Black cultures and communities. For this reason, Adge felt that gatherings of Black people are often construed as attracting groups of people who are "looking to cause trouble or, you know, stir things up."

Overall, references to race and culture were more present for Black female-identified youth, especially those aged 20-24. Participants within this age group represented 44 percent (N=85) of these references. Data analysis further

revealed a connection between the code Race and Culture and MisEducation, a code within the White Supremacy theme, where participants believed educational institutions should be sites for cultural exchange and not places where vilifying Black youth as troublemakers is normative.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

The data reveals that negative media portrayals of Black youth as deviants, rooted in the legacies of slavery and colonialism, influence their perceptions of why they have differential experiences in society, from the way they are treated by authority figures in schools to their interactions with police. The data also shows that Black youth in Calgary and Lethbridge most frequently encounter police as motorists and pedestrians. This is the reason that I focussed on these cities in my data analysis.

This analysis shows that among Black youth who participated in this study, those from Calgary tend to experience overt acts of police aggression, including police handcuffing and pointing guns at the youth, while Black youth from Lethbridge are more likely to experience covert police aggression, including intimidation. The data shows that these interactions with police can have a detrimental impact on their psychological well-being and impact their sense of belonging as citizens of this country. The encounters that Black youth have with police also have an impact on their attitudes toward the police and their overall perceptions of police bias in Southern Alberta. Most of the study's female identified Black youth do not feel safe interacting with police. Motorists who interacted with police and those between the ages of 25 and 30 appear to be the most impacted by their encounters with police. I explore the meaning of these findings in more detail in the next chapter relative to the project's aims, objectives, and exploration questions.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction

This study has aimed to validate the experiences and interactions that Black Youth have had with police. Chapters four and five have amplified the voices of those who participated in the study. I stated three non-directional hypotheses from the research questions identified in the introduction chapter. These suppositions include: first, a relationship exists between knowing someone or being a victim of police violence, including racial profiling and Black youth's perceptions of police and their sense of citizenship and belonging to Canada. Second, there is a relationship between their city of residence, identified gender, age, style or type of dressing and Black youth's frequency of contact with police, and third, their interactions and experiences with police in Southern Alberta are distinct from others in Canadian or larger U.S. cities.

This chapter interprets and links the findings reported in Chapters Four and Five to key CRT insights mentioned in Chapter Three. I have organized it into four sections, including this brief introduction and I will summarize the essential findings and interpretation in sections two and three and provide concluding remarks in section four.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

Most of the study's participants self-identified as female. They accounted for 62 percent of the QUAL cases analyzed in NVivo 12 and 66 percent of the survey respondents. Black youth from Calgary and Lethbridge represented an equal proportion (43 percent each, N=35) of those who responded to the survey. Similarly, survey respondents were almost equally distributed across the three participants' age categories of 16-19 (n=12), 20-24 (n=12) and 25-25 (n=11). However, participants aged 25-30 accounted for most of the cases analyzed in

NVivo, 43 percent (n=16). As such, age and gender influenced participants' odds of providing QUAL data in this study.

As discussed in the previous chapter, five themes emerged from my data analysis: Policing, White Supremacy, Responses, Belonging and Intersections and I focussed primarily on the experiences of Black youth from Calgary and Lethbridge. Black youth from Lethbridge accounted for most of the content coded to the identified themes. The data also show that Black youth from Lethbridge had slightly higher chances of encountering police at a younger age than those from Calgary.

Findings from this project also indicate that the city of residence and the participant's gender had an influence on whether Black youth experienced overt or covert violence in their interactions with police. For instance, participants from Lethbridge reported more experiences that I classified as subtle forms of police violence, including police dismissiveness and intimidation, compared to Black youth from Calgary, whose experiences I identified as overt police violence, including police handcuffing or pointing a gun at youth when doing so was not necessary.

The data further suggest the youth in this study see their negative experiences with police as a consequence of negative media depictions and stereotypes of them as thugs, gangs, violent criminals, or drug dealers, rooted in the legacies of slavery and colonialism. Their experience with differential treatment also comes from their interactions with administrators in educational institutions, making their experience systemic and widespread across multiple institutions. This finding supports CRT's proposition that racism is structural and not a matter of an individual racist actor(Valdes et al., 2002).

Accordingly, the data show significant correlations between Black youth's city of residence, age, gender, experiences and interactions with police, their sense of belonging and their perceptions of police. Indeed, the findings indicate the majority of Black youth who participated in the study view the police

negatively and that while they tend to agree that police are friendly, protect and provide safety, an overwhelming majority of them believe police are biased. This finding also challenges or serves as a Counter-Narrative to the assumption of police neutrality and colour-blindness in their interactions with members of the public in society(Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda et al., 1993). These youth also do not trust or feel safe in their interaction with police, especially, those who identified as female, non-binary and those who were between the ages of 20 and 30. Together, these findings emphasize the importance of demarcating the margins of oppression and recognizing that race, gender, sexuality, sexual orientation, age, and others often intersect to shape others' societal experiences, as Crits have hypothesized(Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989; Valdes et al., 2002).

6.2 Interpretation of Findings

Findings from this study's survey data show that not only are the Black youth from Lethbridge, especially those who identified as female, more likely to have interacted with police, but these youth were also more likely to have known someone who has encountered police in Southern Alberta. Black female youth tend to be politically active in Southern Alberta, which can explain their increased encounters with police compared to their male counterparts in this study. Charity mentioned the type of policing she experienced with her friends during anti-Black racism protests in Calgary. Previous studies of involuntary police interactions with Black youth in Canada and the U.S. tend to focus on Black males (Brunson & Pegram, 2018; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). This finding suggests unwanted police encounters are not limited to Black male youth but extend to Black female youth in Southern Alberta. Renowned Crit, legal scholar, and civil rights advocate Kimberlé Crenshaw and the African American Policy Forum work has shown that Black women are just as susceptible to police lethal violence as their male counterparts(Crenshaw, 2023;

Savage, 2016; The African American Policy Forum, 2020). Robyn Maynard's (2017) and Lisa Monchalin's (2016) works in Canada have also shown that Indigenous and Black Canadian women also experience police violence in Canada. Hence, Black women in this study's experiences with police violence should be seen as intersecting with their race, gender, and political activism.

Compared to their Calgary counterparts, this study also suggests that Black youth from Lethbridge were slightly more likely to have had contact with police at younger ages. This may suggest that Black youth and children do not always enjoy the innocence extended to their White counterparts in society, as Canadian critical race scholars and theorists have also argued(Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Walcott, 2021). Black children tend to be perceived to be more mature than their actual ages; this has undoubtedly been my family's experience dealing with school administrators who also tend to involve the police in their dealing with Black youth in schools in Southern Alberta.

In this study, the chances of interacting with police as a Black youth between the ages of 25 and 30, where one has never had police encounters before, were also greater in Lethbridge than in Calgary. As shown in the brief city profiles in the introduction chapter, Lethbridge is not a racially diverse city compared to Calgary. One of my two direct police interactions in Canada, beyond my previous occupation in corrections, occurred in Lethbridge in 2021. These findings support previous reports of racial profiling, manifested in the police practices of carding Black and Indigenous People outlined in Lawyer Miranda Hlady's 2015 and 2016 review of 2,264 street checks, obtained through a Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy (FOIP) request from Lethbridge Police Service (LPS) where Black and Indigenous People were shown to be disproportionately represented in these encounters(Özcan, 2023; Turay, 2023).

The response to this allegation from LPS was denial(Turay, 2023), a standard response for Canadian police administrators when race-conscious scholars and journalists raise concerns about racial profiling that targets

Black people within Canadian police agencies, starting with the TPS in 2002, in Ontario(Rankin, 2010; Rankin et al., 2002; Wortley et al., 2020; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022; Wortley & Tanner, 2003). It wasn't until 2022 that the first agency to vehemently deny allegations of racial profiling became the first major police service in Canada to officially admit what Black people in that city had known for years: that police often target members of these communities using various forms of racialized police practice, from carding to excessive police use of force(Carter, 2020, 2022; Haag, 2021; Henry et al., 1996; Henry & Tator, 2011; Toronto Police Service, 2022).

My findings suggest that the Black youth in Southern Alberta who participated in this study share similar experiences with police to Black people in Toronto more broadly. My analysis suggests Black youth's accounts of their experiences and interaction with police, predominantly as motorists and pedestrians, can be understood better when reflected on a continuum of violence, ranging from subtle to outright physical violence, as shown in Figure 15 below. Shown in Figure 15, each step represents an escalation and point of justification for the violence Black youth experience in Southern Alberta during their encounters with police. Note that a youth's reaction to police dismissiveness or disrespect leads to negligence, which in this project includes charging a youth unnecessarily, especially when they, too, returned the disrespect that an officer had shown them (Pedicelli, 1998). The frustration shown by Black youth upon experiencing police harassment could lead to a belligerent encounter and ultimately excessive use of force, including a police officer handcuffing or pointing a gun at them, where making a wrong move could result in a youth being seriously injured or killed. The reality of these potential outcomes did not escape Black youth in this study; hence, their efforts to calm themselves down during their interactions with police. The analysis of members of the Toronto Police Service (TPS)'s encounters with members of the public revealed that police were more likely to point a firearm at Black persons they interacted

with, even in instances they did not perceive them as a threat(Toronto Police Service, 2022). The experiences of Black youth who participated in this study in Southern Alberta are unique, dictated by their identified city of residence, gender, and age but they are also part of a continuum of violence that has been documented more broadly in police practice across the country.

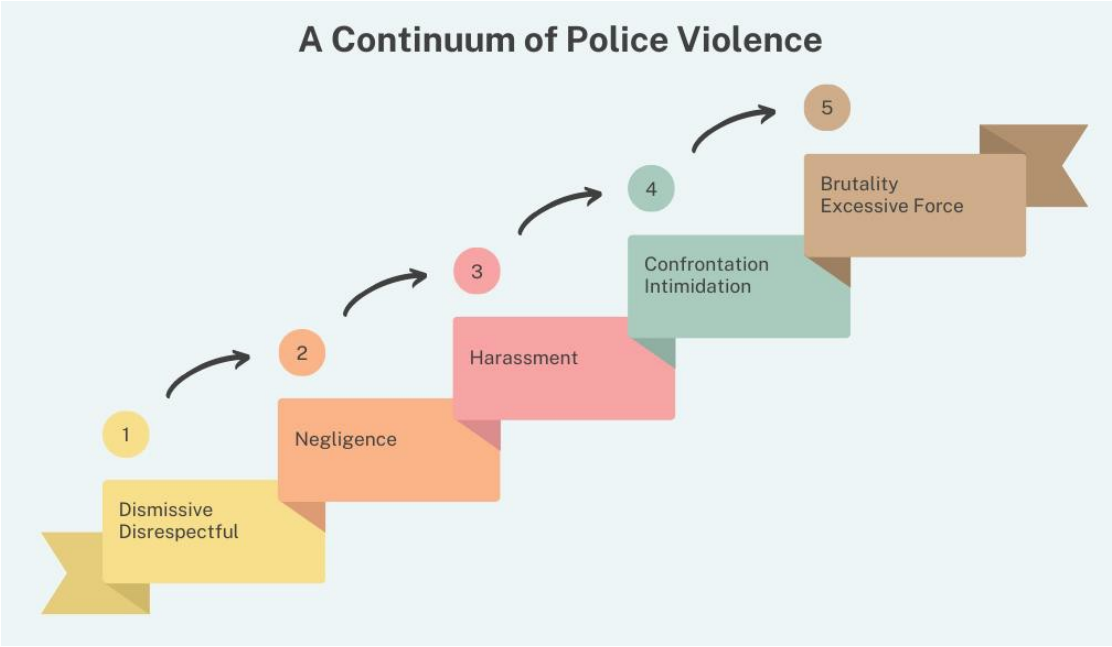


Figure 15: *A Continuum of Police Violence Escalation*

6.2.1 Disdainful Policing

Black female youth were more likely to have reported experiencing police negligence and dismissiveness in their interactions, categorized as subtle forms of police violence, than their male counterparts. These experiences were prominent for participants from Lethbridge, including instances where there was a hasty willingness to charge instead of thoroughly investigating when the accused person was identifiable as Black, like in the cases of Jamal from Lethbridge and Breanna from Calgary. As Bell (2008) has argued, racial myths and cultural stereotypes surrounding Black criminality might unconsciously influence a police officer's decision not to explore evidence pointing to other suspects in a case where the accused is a Black person. Research conducted in

Ontario has shown that there is often a disparity in police charging decisions when Black youth are involved (Samuels-Wortley, 2022). Most Canadians would denounced the outright use of skin colour to justify one's arrest or charge as a conscious act of racial bias or racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Lawrence III, 2013; Lawrence III et al., 1993; Matsuda et al., 1993). However, the racist knowledge of others' inferiority, laziness or criminality is often shared, perpetuated, or gained through various cultural means, including the mass media (Lawrence III, 1987, 2013).

As noted in their stories, Breanna, and Jamal were accused and charged with crimes they assert they did not commit. Saghbini and Paquin-Marseille's (2023) recent analysis of the court outcomes for Black Canadians suggests Black people sometimes get overcharged and unnecessary charged. The Canadian criminal justice system exists within a society built upon white supremacist ideologies, where whiteness is normative. White supremacist thinking was and continues to be foundational to justifying colonialism and the enslavement of People of African descent (Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Loomba, 2015; Maynard, 2017). Today, white supremacy is evident in laws that allow for the criminalization of blackness through the criminal justice system's agencies, policies, directives, and standard operating procedures(K. Crenshaw, 1995; K. W. Crenshaw, 1988, 2020; Maynard, 2020).

For example, I worked within the system long enough to know that a Black youth convicted of a firearm-related offence would more likely be sentenced to prison than given a Conditional Sentence Order (CSO). I supervised two youths on CSOs where the White youth was convicted of weapon-related offences. In contrast, the Black youth's conviction was drug-gang related. Seeing a Black youth on a community supervision order, like a CSO, I would argue, means there was no legal justification for them to be sentenced to imprisonment. In the case of the Black youth I supervised, the offences they were under supervision could not have required any correctional involvement beyond their court proceedings

had they been committed by a youth who may identify as White. Saghbini and Paquin-Marseille's (2023) analysis also shows that Black people account for 5 percent of individuals confined in provincial correctional centres in Alberta. However, recent Census data shows they comprised only 4.3 percent of Alberta's general population in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2023). In a society where Blackness is often perceived to equate to drug dealing and violence(Maynard, 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2022), the court will not miss an opportunity to sentence a Black person (youth or adult) to a prison term for a drug-gang-related conviction where there is a clear justification for that decision(Alexander, 2012).

In Breanna's and Jamal's cases, the officers involved ignored their offers to provide leads or evidence to aid in the officers' investigations based on their collective accounts. It is unlikely that Breanna and Jamal have ever met but they are connected by the similarities in their shared stories of police negligence. These stories also provide a Counter-Narrative to the one so often proclaimed about liberal colour-blind legal systems by showing through the experiences of Black youth that sometimes they do not enjoy the privilege of the presumption of innocence until proven guilty that is a central tenet of the rule of law in contemporary liberal democracies (Delgado, 2013b, 2013a). From a CRT perspective, Breanna's and Jamal's stories expose how race and racism operate in law and society; therefore, they are data that aid our understanding that law enforcement, including criminal investigation or lack thereof, is not colour-blind in Southern Alberta(Bell, 2008; Lawrence III, 2013, 1987).

Police dismissiveness and disrespect were evident in the narratives of Black female youth, as exemplified when Charity from Calgary and Kim from Lethbridge told their stories. Charity points to an instance when she attempted to seek police assistance but noted the Police were not always "eager" to help, a perception consistent with the previous research in other provinces. Samuels-Wortley's (2021) findings explored Black and Indigenous youth's encounters with

Police in Toronto, outlining the collective narratives of the Black and Indigenous youth that participated in their study as articulating that Police were not always keen on protecting them from "victimization" (p. 1157). Crits contend that racism is pervasive and a daily experience of racialized persons(Aylward, 1999; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Previous studies have also shown that incidents of disrespect tend to be everyday experiences for Black and Indigenous Peoples and racialized Canadians more broadly when they encounter Police (Moffette & Bruckert, 2023; Samuels-Wortley, 2021). Findings from Moffette and Bruckert's (2023) study shows that police disrespect toward Black people includes intimidation. A finding that my study also confirms as an overarching experience of the Black youth, and particularly the Black female identified youth who participated in this project.

6.2.2 Hostile Policing

The experiences of Black youth with police harassment, confrontation, and intimidation are all examples of what I have identified as subtle forms of police violence that those who identified as Black male youth from Lethbridge in this project generally experienced in their interactions with police. As CRT proposes, the insidiousness of contemporary racism, as seen from the experiences of Black youth from Lethbridge, often makes it hard to challenge, address, and eventually eradicate this phenomenon in society (Aylward, 1999; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Harassment and intimidation can also be seen as examples of subtle, hostile police practices because of the potential of such encounters to escalate to outright physical violence or police brutality, a more blatant experience for Black youth from Calgary.

Further analysis shows that Black youth who encountered police as pedestrians in Calgary were likelier to experience police harassment. For instance, Rubin's numerous encounters with police in his Calgary neighbourhood exemplify police harassment. His neighbourhood is adjacent to one of the

communities with the highest reported crime rates in Calgary. Earlier studies have confirmed that Black youth in communities like his experience frequent and unwanted police contact, including police harassment(Gau & Brunson, 2010, 2010; Haag, 2021; Hayle et al., 2016; Jones, 2014; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). For Black youth, attracting police attention sometimes has nothing to do with their involvement with crime. They are instead criminalized through racialized police practices(Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Hall, 1997; Hall et al., 2019; Hayle et al., 2016; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Walcott, 2021). Rubin repeatedly stated he had never been charged with a crime during my interview but had been handcuffed and threatened by an officer with a gun as a pedestrian in Calgary.

Conversely, findings from this study suggest that police were confrontational and intimidating with the Black youth they encountered as motorists, mainly between 8 pm and 4 am. Depending on whether these encounters occurred in the summer or winter, such interactions would have occurred at a time when they were less visible to the public. Suppose that was the case and something had gone wrong. In that case, it would be down to whose story or account of the event society believes to be true. My experiences teaching in Southern Alberta's post-secondary institutions have shown me that Black youth's actions and behaviours work towards either dispelling or confirming their stereotypes of criminality (like violence, aggressiveness, gangs, drug dealers, to name a few)that society holds of them even before having any meaningful interaction with them. Thus, in a society where their criminality is always assumed, a Black youth's description of a negative encounter with police would less likely be considered accurate by the public (Aylward, 1999).

According to an analysis of the survey data, 46 percent (N=35) of the respondents interacted with police as motorists. Most of those motorists were from Lethbridge, 30 percent (N=27), compared to 19 percent (N=27) from Calgary. Prior studies have found that gender, social class, and perception of drug trafficking can intersect to influence Black people's interactions with police

as motorists, as CRT suggested (Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Cho et al., 2013; Crenshaw, 1989; Lichtenberg, 2006; Maynard, 2017; Mosher, 2011). Jamal and his friend's encounter with police as motorists in Lethbridge involved police questioning them repeatedly on whether they had drugs with them. Although Black motorists are less likely to have drugs when stopped and searched during police traffic stops, the cultural understanding that Black people are drug dealers continues to consciously or unconsciously influence the policing of motorists in Southern Alberta (Lawrence III 1987; Lichtenberg, 2006).

Similarly, a Black person driving an old or new car can also attract police attention (Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Mosher, 2011) based on the assumption that, for instance, one could not afford a new or expensive car without involvement in crime, especially drug dealing or that one is driving a defective vehicle due to their economic status (Bowling & Phillips, 2002). Adge believed the police stopped him because he was driving an old car, and his perception is consistent with previous research findings. Mosher's (2011) study shows that driving an older model car tends to attract police attention because of the potential of discovering defects in the vehicle. The drivers in their study tended to be overwhelmingly Black. There appears to be no escaping police if you are a Black person in a white supremacist society.

Godfrey Addai-Nyamekeye, the then 26-year-old Calgarian of African descent did not participate in this study, however, the outcome of his encounter with police in Calgary shows the potential danger for Black youth encountering police as motorists between 8 pm and 4 am. In 2013, a former Calgary Police officer brutally beat him (CBC Docs, 2020), and then proceeded to charge him with an offence of assaulting a peace officer, a crime under Section 270 (1) CCC(Department of Justice Canada, 2023). A conviction could have sent Addai-Nyamekeye to prison for up to five years when he was the victim of police brutality and not the other way around (Department of Justice Canada, 2023).

Nonetheless, the data suggest that the kind of police brutality Addai-Nyamekeye experienced was a rare occurrence for the Black youth who participated in this project. Sixty percent (N=35) of the survey respondents indicated that police had never been physically abusive towards them. This was especially true for those respondents from the city of Lethbridge. This finding suggests Black youth in this study were more likely to experience subtle forms of police violence (intimidation, harassment, disrespect and neglectful), consistent with how racialized Canadians often experience racism in this country. Nonetheless, these findings do not preclude the possibility that future studies may show higher levels of physical violence than I was able to discover here.

An essential addition to the Canadian literature from this project is that we stand to miss the experiences of Black Canadians with police violence if we only concentrate on physical or overt forms of violence. Instead, the focus should also be on the subtle forms of violence associated with racialized others' everyday experiences with racism in Canadian society, especially those of Black and Indigenous Peoples, because these are the experiences and behaviours that create the conditions for overt forms of violence and fatal outcomes to not only take place, but to be normalized more broadly across the country (Statistics Canada, 2022).

6.2.3 White Supremacy

6.2.3.1 The Legacies: Slavery and (Settler)Colonialism

Black youth in this study describe their experiences with police in conjunction with their experiences of differential treatment in every facet of their lives ranging from schools to the general society, and some of them articulate that they believe that this treatment is at least in part the result of the negative stereotypical portrayal of Black people in the media. In particular, some research participants point to how the media depictions of Black youth as thugs or drug dealers in music videos influenced their negative

experiences in junior and high school in Southern Alberta. For example, Jamal's junior high school experiences involved his schoolmates asking him whether he was a gang member or used drugs. Jamal's school experience reveals that in the absence of the school administrators, including teachers and the police, Black youth in this study also experience policing from their schoolmates. Alexandre Da Costa and Mohamed Bashir's (2022) analysis of data from the Edmonton School Resource Officer program shows that 20,963 students were labelled as offenders between 2011 and 2021, resulting from their interactions with School Resource Officers within the Edmonton school districts. The racial breakdown of this data was not available to this research team; however, the literature on the school-to-prison pipeline suggests that the presence of police in schools increases the chances of students' involvement in the criminal justice system, especially racialized and marginalized students (Da Costa & Mohamed, 2022; Mallett, 2016; Maynard, 2017). As previously argued, racist cultural knowledge of Black people's criminality is often shared through mass media, most of which are owned by the elite White majority(D'Angelo, 2018; Hall et al., 1997; Kappeler & Potter, 2017; Lawrence III, 1987). The literature supports the finding that negative depictions of Black people as criminals in the media influence how others perceive us, especially the youth in our communities(Adams-Bass et al., 2014; Hall et al., 2019; Turay, 2023).

Accordingly, this study shows that the labeling logic that Europeans once used to dehumanize people of African descent as barbaric and inferior to White people to justify their enslavement is alive today and evident in the labeling of Black youth as thugs, gang members, violent, among other things, to justify their surveillance through practices of racial profiling, and capture and confinement in Canadian prisons(Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Walcott, 2021; Waldron, 2021). Black youth (from 12 to 18 years old) continue to be incarcerated at higher rates in Canada, including Alberta(Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023). Since the only Young Offender Centre in Southern Alberta is

located in Calgary, youth ages 12-17 whose charges or convictions warrant custodial detention from cities like Medicine Hat, Brooks, and Lethbridge would be further removed from their communities for imprisonment in Calgary. Incarceration, temporary or not, removes individuals from their communities.

In 2015, the then Progressive Conservative (PC) government also attempted to close the Calgary Young Offender Centre (CYOC)(Devlin, 2015). Detained youth at CYOC would have been transferred to the Edmonton Young Offender Centre (EYOC), more than 500 kilometres from Medicine Hat, for example. CYOC remains operative due to Rachel Notley's NDP government coming to power following her election as Premier of Alberta in May 2015. I should note the overall youth population in prison was low at both the Edmonton and Calgary Young Offender Centres following the implementation of the Youth Criminal Justice Act in 2003; however, most of the youth at these centres were Indigenous youth from my observations working in those centres. Today, anecdotal evidence suggests that most youth currently confined in Southern Alberta are Black and of African descent. Involvement with the criminal justice system can strain youth's relationships with their family. The farther removed they are from their community, for example, from Lethbridge to Calgary, for detention, the more strained those relations become, especially when a family cannot afford to skip work and other responsibilities to visit them regularly. From my experience supervising visits at CYOC, family visits can be exciting for youth who want and have a family member visit them in prison.

Police have the power to arrest and hence, become the gateway to the prison system. Police, however, cannot prosecute, convict, or determine who goes to prison. The rule of law in Canada dictates that Crown prosecutors prosecute cases and Judges determine sentencing options of convicted persons. The literature suggests that overzealous police and prosecuting practices work together to devalue Black lives(Alexander, 2012). The future of Black youth with criminal records related to a gang-drug conviction do not look bright in white supremacist societies. One Black youth who I supervised on the CSO I mentioned

earlier wanted to become a Firefighter in Calgary. His chances of fulfilling that dream might have been slim with the combination of skin colour and a criminal record from a drug-gang conviction.

Crits have argued that racism provides psychological and material benefits to those identified as White in white supremacist societies, like Canada(Bell, 1992, 2005a; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Criminalizing Black people reduces the competition, especially in industries where positions require criminal record checks, such as teaching and policing. Jamal wanted to pursue a career in policing before his charges, which the Crown prosecutor has since withdrawn. However, whether he was convicted or not might matter less as a Black youth competing with others who will likely be majority White with no record of police involvement in Southern Alberta. Thus, charging Black youth unnecessarily or refusing to investigate their alleged crimes properly should be seen as acts of police violence and condemned in society. This study's findings also suggest that for Black youth, criminal records may also intersect with their race, gender, and other intersections to limit their aspirations for advantageous employment opportunities, which sets the stage for the long-term exploitation of their labour in society(Alexander, 2012; Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 2003).

We live in a society where White people often call the police on Black people they perceive are out of place or space or simply doing what everyone else can do, like driving, going to a club, or being at a park, among other things (Maynard, 2017; Sharpe, 2016; Walcott, 2021). Rashid's and Jamal's stories show that Black youth in Lethbridge sometimes cannot drive or attend clubs like their White peers without someone calling the police on them. Stories like Rubin's show that Black youth cannot even walk to school without the possibility of a gun being drawn on them by a police officer. These kinds of stories make it essential that police thoroughly investigate cases of accused Black youth. The absence of this suggests that the differential treatment of Black youth by police in Southern Alberta complements white supremacy (Mills,

1997) and works to the detriment of these youth's sense of belonging, and their emotional, psychological, and mental well-being, as visualized in Figure 16 below.

6.2.3.1.1 Police Violence Maintains White Supremacy

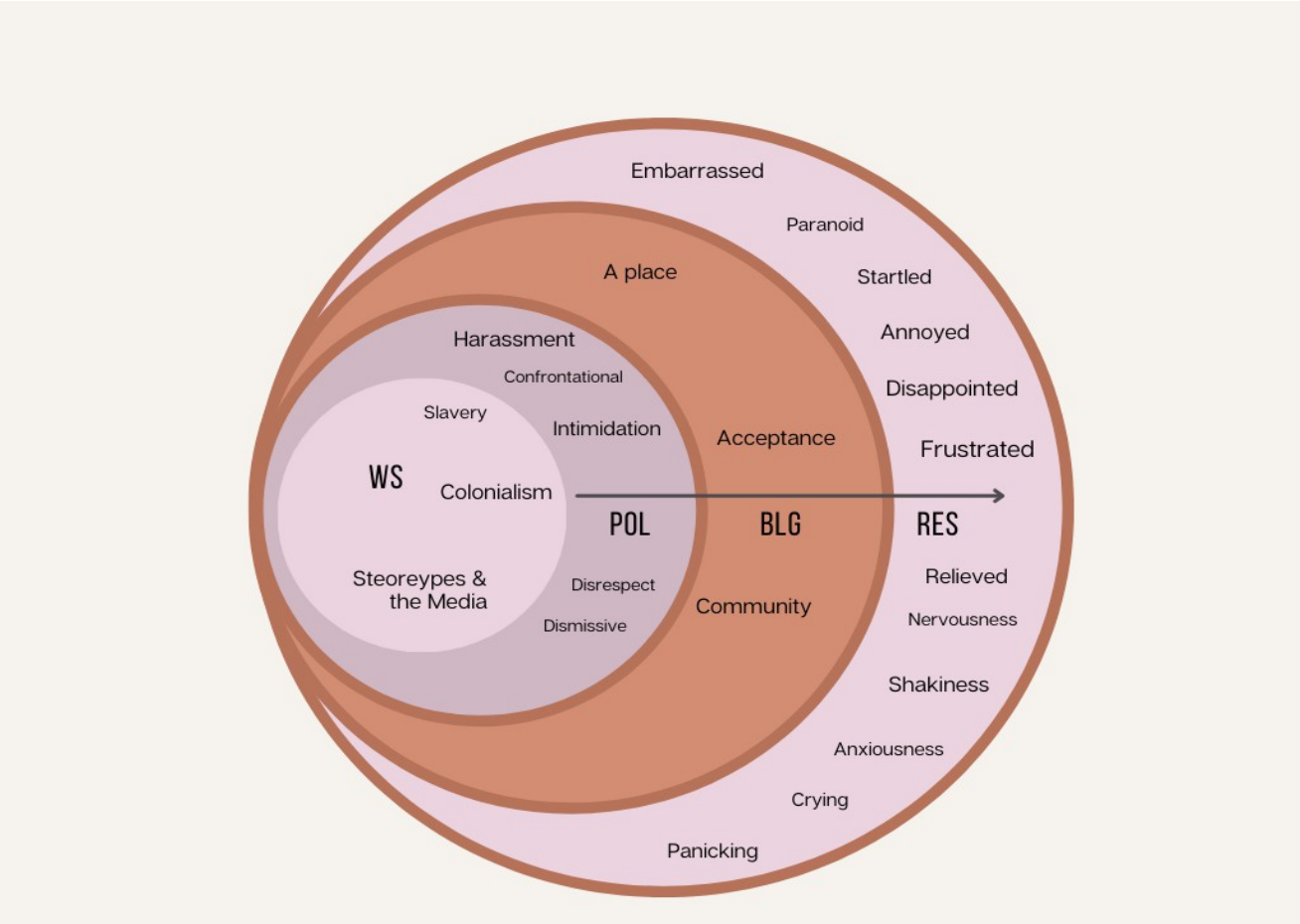


Figure 16: *How Does Police Violence Compliment White Supremacy?*

The collected narratives of the Black youth who participated in this study suggest that their experiences of differential treatment at the hands of police are consistent with their experiences of racism more broadly. As such, white supremacy (WS) is at the core of their experiences, as shown in Figure 16 above. This framework, as signified by the arrow from WS to response (RES), suggests that Black youth in this study see their daily experiences with racism in their communities, including in their encounters with police, as consequences of two

legacies: slavery and colonialism. The consequences of these legacies can be seen in the stereotypical depictions of Black people as thugs, gangs members, and violent, among other criminal labels, in the media and the broader society's willingness to accept those labels as justifications for their disproportionate representation in Canada's prison system, rather than as victims of police violence, including racial profiling and lethal police force(de Castillo, 2022; Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023; Sapers, 2013; Sharpe, 2016; Singh et al., 2020; Tracking (In)Justice, 2023; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022; Zinger, 2022). This perspective also emphasizes Crits' contention that the law, including its enforcement, is not ahistorical nor void of context. As such, the youth in this study's continued experiences with racial discrimination can be linked to the historical application of the law that reduces members of these communities to property(Matsuda et al., 1993). In a country like Canada and others with a similar colonial history, police, prisons, and courts symbolize European colonial domination. White supremacy continues to normalize these institutions as the primary means by which society maintains law, order, and peaceful existence over Indigenous means of governance that were in place in countries like Canada and Sierra Leone before European contact (Abraham, 1974; Drake, 2020; Little Bear, 2000; Monchalin, 2016, 2023; Stock, 2014; Victor, 2007).

In particular, the police, as a colonial institution, facilitated the suppression and control of the colonized, enslaved, racialized and lower class in (settler) colonial nations. In Sierra Leone, police were the first line of enforcing the imposed hut tax the Themnɛ people resisted (Abraham, 1974; Stock, 2014). Indeed, as Özcan (2023) has argued, policing is a contested practice that "never goes without resistance" (p. 198). This resistance to policing and police attempts to subdue it through force was true then in the colonial era and true today in the context of the protests of police brutality against Black people under the umbrella of Black Lives Matter in Canada, the U.S. and other Western

Nations, seen in recent years (Garza, n.d.; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021). Sierra Leone continues to operate in a dual system of governance: the British-informed colonial system and the customary systems of government, and so does the administration of justice in the country. It is possible to reform or abolish any colonial institution, including the police. Nonetheless, as Bell's theory of interest convergence suggests, reform or abolishment of any colonial institution would only happen if it served the interests of the White elite (Bell, 2004, 2005a).

For instance, the police, as a colonial institution, remains in Sierra Leone but differs from its colonial form and operates mainly in urban areas or larger towns at a considerably lesser capacity. Despite colonialism having weakened the powers of the traditional leaders and systems of maintaining peace, police do not intervene in most disputes between community members. Sierra Leoneans settle most conflicts through customary traditions in their various communities. Conflict or dispute-resolution practices in the community range from parties resolving the issue between themselves to seeking the intervention of a trusted elder, a Chief (ɔbåi) or a Paramount Chief (ɔkandɛ). Community members have the freedom to settle their conflicts through the British-informed colonial justice system that white supremacy has made supreme to the people's customary systems of justice at any given stage in the practices noted previously. Indigenous Peoples in Canada also had their systems of governance and ways of maintaining peace and justice based on the worldviews of the various nations that co-existed on Turtle Island before European contact(Drake, 2020; Little Bear, 2000; Monchalin, 2016, 2023). The absence of white supremacy would have meant that Southern Alberta's Blackfoot Confederacy governance systems should have been supreme because they are this region's Ləssaries, to use a Themnɛ term meaning original peoples of a place.

Police in Sierra Leone, I would argue, are not a significant threat to the well-being of the people. It is rare to see a police officer with a firearm[18] on the street in a majority-Black country, the very blackness that police often perceive as a threat to their safety in Western societies. The skin colour-blackness does not equate to criminality or a threat to the safety of a police officer in Sierra Leone. As a Black person, losing or sustaining a severe injury would be the least of my worries from an encounter with a police officer in Sierra Leone. Therefore, perceiving people of African descent as a safety risk to police or society in white supremacist nations has nothing to do with their perceived skin colour-blackness but has everything to do with the racist colonial ideologies that rendered them sub-persons (Maynard, 2017; Mills, 1997). According to hooks' (2013),

> Thinking about white supremacy as the foundation of race and racism is crucial because it allows us to see beyond skin colour. It allows us to look at all the myriad ways our daily actions can be imbued by white supremacist thinking no matter our race. (p. 6)

For instance, to continue thinking of the British-informed colonial justice system as superior in Sierra Leone to the customary approaches to justice or governance even after their Independence from British dominance points to how successfully white supremacist attitudes and belief systems were ingrained in the people. Indeed, adding to Wolfe's (2006) perspective that settler colonialism destroys to replace, the same can be said for classic colonialism. To this date, it is not uncommon to see judges and lawyers in Sierra Leone wearing wigs as a sign of prestige, illustrating the remnants of British colonialism. To be seen as westernized in Themnɛ is to be perceived as being ɔpothɔ or white. This conception can positively be associated with being considered superior or negatively, seen as embracing Western ideals

[18] This means that an immigrant from Sierra Leone seeing police officers with guns in Alberta, Canada, would have been abnormal, as was the case for me.

(individuality, for instance) over one's traditional beliefs and cultural practices, which white supremacy made to be perceived as inferior (hooks, 2013).

Part of the Themnɛ people's culture involves socializing through family and communal gatherings. These gatherings often function as social support networks, from cheerful celebrations to dealing with distress in the community. When perceived as pothɔnized or Westernized, one can be isolated in their family and the community. For example, unfenced houses or property is generally the norm, which I would argue promotes the people's cultural value of community living. Fencing one's property, common in the capital city of Sierra Leone, Freetown, suggests one has embraced the ideals of Ɔpothɔ, to be private. This desire for privacy can result in one's isolation in their community as family and community members would warn each other to stay away from Ɔpothɔ, through such expression: Ɔwɔn-ɛ-pothɔɔ, meaning that a person is Westernized. In this context, whiteness (Ɔpothɔ) in Themnɛ also refers to a way of being foreign to one's customary and traditional ways of existence.

There are cultural significances for social gatherings for people of African descent, including protests and socializing congregations. Unfortunately, due to cultural misunderstanding, Black people's gatherings tend to be pathologized or criminalized in white supremacist societies. Policing and corrections are two examples of agencies where officials, particularly, criminalized Black people's gatherings (Henry et al., 1996; Sapers, 2013). Sapers (2013) explores the experiences of Black-incarcerated persons in Canada's federal prisons and reveals that Black incarcerated-persons tend to be stereotyped as gang members, resulting in officials labeling a gathering of Black-incarcerated persons as gang socializing. Prison gang members are associated with various deviant activities, from drug smuggling into prison to extortion, violence and overall prison unrest, a reason for the stricter control of prison gang members(Drury & DeLisi, 2011; Gaes et al., 2002). Drugs, violence, and gang memberships were already associated with people of African descent in

the community before their imprisonment(Chettleburgh, 2003; Maynard, 2017). This association means a community gang label follows Black people into prison and vice versa. Henry et al. (1996) study from Ontario shows criminality is often believed to be part of Black people's culture, customs, or background (Henry et al., 1996).

Ontario has one of the highest numbers of federally incarcerated Black persons in Canada, and a Canadian study has also shown that police tend to target social events frequented by large groups of Black people (Henry et al., 1996; Sapers, 2013). The surveillance and the negative association of people of African descent's gathering with criminality may dissuade others from participating in a valuable culture of community building against the odds of surviving in a white supremacist society due to being afraid or ashamed of their culture. A person becomes ashamed of their culture or belief systems because white supremacy has taught them to believe their culture or belief systems are inferior(hooks, 2013), more so when society perceives practices like gatherings as threatening to white people. Adge, a participant in this project insists, that part of the culture of Jamaicans involves gathering to enjoy food and music, not for criminality.

Accordingly, the persistent and often alarming disproportionate imprisonment of Black Canadians and their general experiences within the Canadian justice system (Office of the Auditor General of Canada, 2022; Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023; Sapers, 2013; Zinger, 2022) warrant the intentional recruitment and efforts to retain people of African descent as police, judges, and correctional personnel, especially women. About half of the Black youth interviewed in this project suggest that hiring more Black police officers might improve Black people's outcomes in their interactions with police in Southern Alberta. Abile's and Breanna's positive outcomes from their encounters with police occurred with police officers of colour. I would want to believe that my presence in corrections as a Black person and a practicing Muslim was valuable

to the Black youth and Muslim clients I encountered. For example, as a former probation officer, colleagues would consult with me as a practicing Muslim on the importance of Tarawih prayers for practicing Muslims during Ramadan to exempt probationers from house arrests to allow them to attend Tarawih nightly.

To my knowledge, the presence of Black women as institutional correctional officers in Alberta provincial corrections is scarce. I have worked with only one Black woman in my four years in provincial institutional corrections in Alberta. In my eleven-year career in provincial institutional and community corrections, this woman remained the only Black person I have seen in a managerial position in Alberta. There appear to be Black women in policing in Southern Alberta, but their representation may also be minimal. In 2022, women represented 37 percent of the Calgary members (Calgary Police Service, 2023). People of African descent accounted for about two percent of all members of the Calgary Police Service in 2017(Calgary Police Service, 2023). Abile, a female participant from Calgary, indicates she once considered joining the police to protect her family from police harm following hearing several media reports of police brutality against Black people in the U.S. and Canada.

However, aspiring, and active members (correctional and police officers) must learn how their attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs might be shaped or controlled by white supremacy while within the system. This learning may include being aware of internalized racism and its manifestation. According to hooks (2013), internalized racism could manifest as low self-esteem and self-hatred, resulting in hatred of one's own and willingness to hurt or harm them, psychologically or physically. Such awareness and actions must guide against maintaining the status quo of white supremacy that promotes the idea that criminality is indeed cultural for people of African descent. Notwithstanding, to be a Black person in a white supremacist society, one must also be aware that they might not be immune from racial profiling even as police or correctional officers (Paul & Birzer, 2017). You are just another Black person when not in

uniform. My experience has also been that as a Black employee, you might not be distinguishable from another Black colleague, whose skin colour (not even your skin tone) might be your only resemblance. Black people are often assumed to be all alike, even with the diversity that exists in the community if one takes the time to notice.

6.2.4 Impacts of Police Encounters on Black Youth

6.2.4.1 Psychological

Previous Canadian and U.S. research has shown that even the most casual police encounter can be stressful for a Black person (Alang et al., 2021; Geller & Fagan, 2019; Haag, 2021; Moffette & Bruckert, 2023; Nadal et al., 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Waldron, 2021). Findings from my project indicate that the Black youth who participated experienced frustration and annoyance and were startled, embarrassed and disappointed, as reflected in Figure 16, page 171 above, due to their interactions with police in Southern Alberta.

Jamal, Rashid, and Rubin's encounters with police in Calgary and Lethbridge echo Moffette & Bruckert's (2023) recent findings that show that police intimidation can induce fear of violence even without physical police violence. The rhetoric of public safety in Canada tends to associate the police with protection, service, and maintenance of peace and order, among other safety-related functions. As such, assuming we accept policing based on this settler colonial framework, seeing a police officer, or interacting with one should not be fear or anxiety provoking for Black youth, especially when they have not done anything illegal. Ideally, Black youth should be relieved to see a police officer in a society where Black people are often the target of race-motivated violence(Moreau, 2021, 2022). In 2021, Black people represented 37 percent (N=1723) of victims of police-reported hate crimes in Canada (Moreau, 2022, p. 15). For this reason, it is imperative that a victimized Black person should not have to worry about further victimization if they call the police for

assistance. However, the Canadian literature has shown that the criminal justice system as a whole does not protect Black people in the same way as their White counterparts in Canada (Maynard, 2017; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Thornhill, 2008). Perhaps the launch of Canada's Black Justice Strategy in 2023 indicates, as Crits have argued, a recognition that changes to the justice system would not be possible without the experiential knowledge of one of those groups impacted the most within it(Department of Justice Canada, 2023; Lawrence III et al., 1993).

Also, consistent with previous research findings, the frustration, annoyance and disappointment experienced by Black youth in this project arise from their knowledge that they had not done anything illegal (Nadal et al., 2017) or anything to warrant suspicion, let alone police harassment and intimidation (Fitzgerald & Carrington, 2011; Haag, 2021; Henry et al., 1996; Maynard, 2017). Their disappointment also comes from their reasonable expectations that police should protect all, especially the vulnerable, and not exploit them. For example, Alice's encounter with police in Lethbridge exemplifies what I would identify as exploitative police violence and abuse of power by depriving her of her freedom of movement. Police held Alice in their cruiser for about an hour, against her will, though she was not a criminal suspect. The main take away from Alice's story is that police would not have subjected her to that had she been a White, or a daughter of a White lawyer, Judge, or a wealthy elite White person in Lethbridge. Hence, race, gender and social class intersected to determine Alice's experiences of police disrespect and disregard for her sense of safety and emotional and psychological well-being (Crenshaw, 2023; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; Maynard, 2017). The literature indicates women's negative interactions with police may impact their willingness to seek future assistance from the police (M. Fine et al., 2003; Maynard, 2017).

Indeed, Alice's account of her experience from her encounter with Lethbridge Police suggests that calling the police might not be the first thing to do when her safety is threatened. This should be concerning. The "right to life, liberty and security of the person and the right not to be deprived thereof in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice" are fundamental rights protected under Section 7 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms(The Rights and Freedoms the Charter Protects - Canada's System of Justice, 1981). Yet, the collective stories of Black youth in this study suggest otherwise. It appears that police could easily deprive Black youth of their Charter-protected rights and freedoms in the name of public safety because police routinely perceive Black youth to be up to no good (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Friedman et al., 2004; Walcott, 2021). Walcott (2021) has argued that trouble tends to find Black people and, by extension, Black youth, even when they are not looking for it.

6.2.4.2 Physiological

The findings further suggest Black youth's psychological reactions tend to be accompanied by other intense physiological responses, such as shakiness, anxiousness, and nervousness when encountering police. These findings are also consistent with previous empirical evidence that shows that frequent, intrusive, aggressive police encounters, and constant police surveillance can induce experiences of anxiety and nervousness in Black youth, especially young Black men(Geller et al., 2014; Haag, 2021; Sewell et al., 2016). In this study, Black youth from Lethbridge exhibited more shakiness, anxiousness, and nervousness than their Calgary counterparts. These reactions could be associated with the uncertainty of what to expect from their encounters with police. Lethbridge is also a small city compared to Calgary, where individual police officers are more likely to remember where a Black youth might live and hang out with their

friends. Having five police cruisers surrounding them, as was the case of Rashid and Jamal, with no idea of what one might have done wrong, does not help. It makes sense that Lethbridge participants expressed experiencing feelings of police intimidation more than their counterparts in Calgary. One may look suspicious to a police officer, especially if one is young, Black, and seen shaking or showing signs of nervousness or anxiety. Thus, the same reactions that police presence is likely to induce in them further contribute to police suspicion of them. The frequency of Black youth's encounters with police have resulted in some developing coping strategies to manage their emotional, and psychological distress.

6.2.4.3 Coping Strategies

Nadal et al. (2017) discovered that the participants in their U.S. study used cognitive coping mechanisms, including reframing, avoidance, and rationalization, to deal with the distress from their encounters with police. Brunson and Weitzer's (2011) U.S. study has also shown that Black parents instill in their youth instrumental survival tool kit as they navigate unwanted police encounters in their communities. This tool kit includes admonishing the youth to be respectful and comply with police request and command even when perceived as unreasonable(Brunson & Weitzer, 2011). Haag's (2021) Canadian study has also revealed that Black youth endeavour to end unwanted police encounters as quickly and safely as possible. Findings from this study reveal Black youth in Southern Alberta engage in various coping mechanisms after their encounters with police, including humour, peer, family, and spiritual community support. The study suggests Black youth from Lethbridge relied more on their peers for support, who themselves might be dealing with their distress from similar negative encounters. This points to a need for a better support system in Southern Alberta to help Black youth cope with their negative police experiences.

These findings add to the Canadian literature on Black youth's experiences with police and their attempts to deal with the aftermath of those encounters. The coping mechanisms that participants in this study engage in can be seen along a continuum of surviving detrimental police encounters beyond the physical interactions. In other words, their coping strategies function as survival tool kits during and after unwanted police encounters(Brunson & Weitzer, 2011; Haag, 2021). The impacts of differential police treatment on Black youth, as this study has shown, goes beyond the psychological and physiological and is also associated with the development of coping strategies that impact their sense of belonging in Canada, the province of Alberta, their city, and in Black communities more broadly. Nevertheless, survival or coping with traumatic events is not new to people of African descent, from dealing with the aftermaths of the kidnapping of their mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons during slavery and colonialism to the civil wars that continue destabilizing the continent and its people.

6.2.4.4 Sense Belonging

Consistent with previous literature, Black youth in this study conceived of belonging as a feeling of acceptance, a sense of community and being at a geographical location where they can see themselves reflected in the population, ideally in Africa(Askins, 2015; Wood & Waite, 2011). Although these lands that became Canada belong to the Indigenous Peoples of Turtle Island, white supremacy normalized whiteness as a signifier of belonging and Blackness as exceptional (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Mills, 1997; Monchalin, 2016; Veracini, 2010). This has taken place even though people of African descent have been on this land as long as the original White settlers of upper and lower Canada (Holness & Sutherland, 2022; Shadd et al., 2022; Walcott, 2021; Walker, 1992). Thirty-four percent of Black youth that responded to the project's survey were Canadian born. Yet, being born in Canada has not sheltered them from questions like, where are you

really from? As Mills (1997) has argued, such questioning suggests being Canadian means being White.

Moreover, the specific questions of one's origin often directed to Black people implies that one would be perceived as not being from here (Mills, 1997). Africa is indeed the ancestorial home for those identified as Black in white supremacist societies. Europe is the ancestorial home for White people in Canada while the ancestorial home of Indigenous People is Turtle Island, or what we understand today as the continent of North America. For White people to claim ancestorial roots in Canada, is an indication of white supremacy that Mills had also identified as an unnamed and unacknowledged pollical ideology, what Lowman and Barker (2014) and Veracini (2010) would refer to as Settler Colonialism. For Black youth in this study, any form of police violence directed towards them (including experiences of disrespect) reminded them of their constant struggle to survive and be accepted in a country that exploited their ancestors' labour to build the country (Cooper, 2007; Foggo, 2020; Holness & Sutherland, 2022).

Belonging was the third prominent theme that emerged from the analysis of the QUAL data, and participants from Lethbridge accounted for most of the sentiments coded to this theme. These findings were consistent with the data from the survey, which suggests that Black youth from Lethbridge were more likely to disagree or strongly disagree that they belonged in Alberta (17 percent versus 6 percent, N=35) and their city (15 percent versus 6 percent, N=35), compared to their Calgary counterparts. The fact that Black youth from Lethbridge were more likely to know someone with previous interactions with police, and had interacted with police at younger ages, and experienced more intimidating policing compared to their Calgary counterparts may explain their low sense of belonging in Alberta and Lethbridge. For example, the number of police cruisers (about five) on the scene in Rashid's and Jamal's separate encounters in Lethbridge, exemplify police acts of police intimidation in this study. Most importantly, the youth conveyed their police interactions lasted about an hour

before police released them with no charges because they believed they had not done anything wrong. Alice's interrogation in a police cruiser in Lethbridge for another hour when she has not committed a crime is also an act of police intimidation. The literature has shown that experiences with police harassment and intimidation can elicit the lack of a sense of belonging in racialized persons, particularly Black people(Hall et al., 2019; Loader, 2006; Waddington, 1999; Weber, 2020). This project's findings are consistent with this literature. Indeed, as I had hypothesized, there was a rank-order correlation between Black youth's interactions with police, measured broadly, and their sense of belonging in Canada, the province of Alberta, their city of residence and their Black communities, as shown in the previous chapter.

Askins' (2015) conception of belonging goes beyond state-sanctioned citizenship to emotional citizenship, which encompasses genuine befriending a neighbour, for instance. In this study, Black youth engage in practices of emotional citizenship that suggest a new form of belonging, which they seek within their families and friendship circles or Black communities. Crits have argued that stories bring people together with collective or shared experiences(Aylward, 1999; Bell, 2005; Delgado, 2013). Stories also function as a means of uncovering their layered realities with experiences with racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination(Bell, 2005). For example, Jamal mentioned receiving calls from friends and family when they encountered police for emotional support. Similarly, Rubin also relied on his friends at school to help him cope with his ordeal of having a gun-pointed-at-him on his way to school. The practice of Black youth in this study seeking help within their peer group and family and their willingness to support each other emotionally exemplifies a form of emotional citizenship. It is a form of belonging they create for themselves, not awarded to them; therefore, it demonstrates agency in a society where such tends to be snatched away from them through targeted and racialized police practices, exemplified by Rubin's experience on his way

to school. This practice of emotional citizenship challenges the notion that one cannot belong in a state where white supremacy normalized the targeting of Black youth for hyper-policing activities (from teachers to members of the public and sworn police officers) to signal to them that they are unwanted; therefore, they do not belong (Hall, 1997; Hall et al., 2019; Loader, 2006; Waddington, 1999). Citizens' perceptions of police are generally a consequence of their experiences and interactions.

6.2.4.5 Perception of Police

Perhaps a well-established finding in the literature of the public's perception of police is that Black people generally hold more negative perceptions of police and the criminal justice system than other groups, including Whites(Bowling & Phillips, 2002; Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; A. D. Fine et al., 2021; Ibrahim, 2020; Nadal et al., 2017; Nadal & Davidoff, 2015; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Statistics Canada, 2022; Wortley, 1996; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2009, 2011, 2022). In Canada, Black people aged 15 and older (21 percent) were less likely to have confidence in the police compared to non-Indigenous and non-visible minority people in 2020 (11 percent)(Statistics Canada, 2022, p. 1). This low confidence is unsurprising given Black people's disproportionate representation within the criminal justice system including their interactions with police, courts and prisons and their associated practices in Canada (Maynard, 2017; Saghbini & Paquin-Marseille, 2023; Samuels-Wortley, 2021; Sapers, 2013; Wortley et al., 2020; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022; Zinger, 2022). For example, the incarceration rate of Black Canadians is more than double their representation in Canada's general population, they represent 9 percent of incarcerated people, compared to comprising less than 4 percent of Canada's population(Zinger, 2022).

This project adds to this literature in that the QUAL and survey data findings reveal that, overall, the views of police held by research participants

were overwhelmingly negative. The QUAL data suggests Black youth's negative perceptions of police were associated with their feelings of police negligence, dismissiveness, bias, untrustworthiness, unaccountability and, to a lesser extent, their racism. These findings were also consistent with the survey results, where 46 percent of the respondents' general view of the police was negative, compared to 34 percent (N=35) who perceived the police positively in Southern Alberta.

6.2.4.5.1 Attitudes towards Police

The findings from this exploration of Black youth's attitudes towards the police reveal that these youth generally agree police provide safety and are supposed to be reliable but were not always sure whether police would be friendly towards them or protect them. For instance, 46 percent of the survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "police provide safety," and 43 percent (N=35) neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement "police protect me." However, the data indicate that Black female and non-gender binary survey respondents were less likely to see police as friendly, reliable, trustworthy, and protecting or to see them as providing safety than their Black male counterparts. Most of the study's participants identified as Black women, indicating that police violence in Southern Alberta is not limited to Black male youth and may disproportionately impact Black women (Crenshaw, 2023; "Kimberlé Crenshaw," 2020; Maynard, 2017).

More than 60 percent (N=35) of Black female youth in this study did not feel safe interacting with police. Victims of subtle police violence, including disrespect and dismissiveness, tend to suffer silently, with little to no support. These experiences can have a long-lasting impact on the youth's well-being and perceptions of police. Overt police violence against Black people tends to ignite protests, a form of communal practice consistent with how many on the African continent deal with sorrow and support each other. Over 40 percent

of the survey respondents in this study were Canadian citizens born outside of Canada, speaking to the importance of culturally specific forms of addressing police violence. The covert forms of racial violence that the Black female youth who participated in this study experienced in their encounters with police do not allow them to access relevant cultural practices for dealing with these traumatizing events, as those experiences are often not acknowledged. Crits have noted that racism is persistent, often unacknowledged, and a daily experience for people of colour, including Black women, and, therefore, difficult to challenge and eradicate(Aylward, 1999; K. W. Crenshaw, 1988; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Protests against police violence acknowledge the wrong and validate the experiences of Black people.

6.2.4.5.2 Police Racial Bias

Findings of the perceptions of police bias were, perhaps, the most definitive of all in terms of their agreement on all the measures of police bias, especially for the Black female identified and non-binary youth who participated in this study. These youth were again more likely to believe that police discriminate against people, are biased, and do not treat everyone fairly. These findings are consistent with recent reports from Canada that show that compared with the general Canadian population, Black people have a "negative perception of the ability of police to treat people fairly and to be approachable and easy to talk to" (Ibrahim, 2020; Statistics Canada, 2022, p. 2; Wortley, 1996).

In this study, overwhelmingly, 91 percent of the survey respondents who identified as female disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement: "Police do not discriminate," compared to 55 percent (N=35) of their male counterparts. Similarly, Black female respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that police are unbiased and treat all people fairly, representing 78 percent (N=35) of respondents compared to their male counterparts who made up only 55 percent and

46 percent respectively. This lack of confidence in police fairness could explain the fact that Black female identified youth in this study were not only worried about their safety in their encounters with police but also about the potential outcomes for their family members, including their fathers and male siblings. Consistent with my hypothesis, findings from this project show that there were relationships between Black youth in this study who knew someone or who had been a victim of police violence and their perceptions of police. For instance, there was a moderate positive and significant rank-order correlation between their knowledge of someone who had interacted with police and their perception that police are unbiased, r_s = .355*, n=35, p = .049. The chances of this association occurring by chance are five percent or less. As previously pointed out, most Black youth from Lethbridge in this study know someone who had encountered police in Southern Alberta.

Results from this study, together with the research literature on the perceptions of police, stand in contrast to results from an Ipsos study conducted for the Lethbridge Police Service in July 2022, where a total of 86 percent (N=400) of Lethbridge residents, aged 18 years and over were satisfied with the services LPS provide to the community(Goulet, 2022). Although one would expect that race would be one of the variables of any study on the public's perception of police in the post-George Floyd era, race was not one of the variables in the study conducted for LPS in 2022. Another citizens' satisfaction study in Calgary also reported 85 percent of citizens' satisfaction with the work of the Calgary Police Service in 2022(Calgary Police Commission, 2022). In this study, racial or cultural groups were an included variable but not factored into the analysis of the findings. The omission of race in the analysis of the results of these studies exemplifies a colour-blind approach that does not support conscious efforts to address systemic racism within the police services in Southern Alberta(Bell, 2005; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

Findings from my study suggest that not only should race be included as a variable in studies of perceptions of police in Southern Alberta but it should also be a factor in the analysis of the data from such studies. The Toronto Police Service recently admitted to race influencing the experiences of Black people in their interactions with police after conducting its research and including Black people's experiences with incidents of police use of force more than 20 years later when journalists of the Star raised initial concerns about the high levels of racial profiling in Toronto. Similar issues around racial profiling came to light here in Southern Alberta for almost eight years without the LPS acknowledging racial profiling as a police practice at any significant level. Police services in Ontario have been mandated to collect race-based data on their interactions with members of the public since 2020 (Waldron, 2021; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2022), and so too should all Alberta police services.

The province of Alberta amended the Police Act in 2021 in response to the Floyd era calls for racial justice. Section 5(1) of the Police Act, concerned with the collection of information voluntarily provided by a member of the public, mandates that police officers in Alberta must record a "person's race, religious beliefs, colour, gender, gender identity, gender expression … age, ancestry, place of origin marital status, source of income, family status or sexual orientation" (Alberta King's Printer, 2021, p. 4). However, concerns about racial profiling are not about, for instance, a Black person voluntarily providing their personal information to a police officer, but the involuntary collection of this information when the person has not committed and is not a suspect in a crime. Before these changes, police could collect any of this information and more. In my previous role as a probation officer, I collected most of this demographic information as part of completing Pre-Sentence Reports[19]

[19] Background investigative reports probation officers complete following a founding of guilt at the request of a judge to assist in determining an appropriate sentence for the person.

for the courts. Important to note here is that in a society where, as a Black person, you are always a suspect, refusing to provide any demographic information even when you know you have not done anything wrong makes you appear even more suspicious to a police officer.

6.3 Concluding Remarks

The findings discussed in this chapter suggest that Black youth in this study experienced differential treatment at the hands of police in Southern Alberta as motorists and pedestrians, relative to other Black youth in cities like Toronto and Ottawa, Ontario. However, my analysis of the findings indicates that the type of police violence that Black youth in Southern Alberta tend to experience is generally subtle, and consistent with how people of colour experience so-called polite racism in Canada. These forms of police violence include harassment, confrontation, intimidation, disrespect, dismissiveness, unlawful detention, and negligence. They were primarily everyday experiences with Black youth from Lethbridge and those who self-identified as females.

While participants in this study generally agreed that police protect and provide safety, this study reveals that Black female youth in Southern Alberta overwhelmingly believe that police do not protect them as they protect White women. Not surprisingly, the majority of the female participants in this project did not feel safe interacting with police. Findings from this study suggest that race and gender intersect in ways that dictate who police perceive as deserving of their services and protection, a Counter-Narrative that challenges the taken-for-granted assumptions and colour-blind and gender-blind findings of the police service satisfaction reports that suggest that police protect and serve all regardless of their race, gender, and other intersections(Calgary Police Service, 2023; Lethbridge Police Service, 2022; Medicine Hat Police Services, 2023).

Safety is a feeling. One can feel it when one is protected. Responding to calls involving Black youth as if responding to a call in a war zone certainly will not promote a sense of safety for these youth, some of whom have lived or have relatives who are currently living in conflict zones and who had stories of living in violent environments similar to what they are experiencing in Canada. Canada is indeed a safe country, but not for those whose skin colour has been deemed other because of racial constructions of blackness. The study shows Black youth perceived their differential treatment at the hands of police as intertwined with their experiences of racism more broadly which is indicative of the continued impacts of the legacies of slavery and (settler) colonialism in their lives.

Finally, this study expands our understanding of what constitutes policing in Southern Alberta beyond the state-sanctioned or sworn police officers we see in uniforms in our community. Instead, the collective narratives of Black youth in this study suggest they experience policing from their White peers, school administrators, teachers, and the general public when perceived as out of place in Southern Alberta. Put differently, the level of policing Black youth experience in Southern Alberta can best be described as suffocating. These findings also have implications for immigrant parents like me, whose junior or high school experiences were outside Canada. As such, I do not have relatable secondary school experiences to share with my youth as toolkits(Brunson & Weitzer, 2011). Most importantly, my skin colour did not make me a target for verbal and physical racial provocation, nor did I have to deal with being perceived as a drug dealer or a gang member during my entire secondary schooling in Sierra Leone. These torments were something some of the youth in the study had to endure as students in Southern Albertan schools.

Imagine Rubin, whom police pointed a gun at on his way to school in Calgary, had gotten into a fight because a classmate wouldn’t leave him alone while he was also dealing with the trauma from his earlier police encounter

quietly. Imagine that the school administration responded by either suspending or expelling him or involving the police, who proceeded to charge him due to zero tolerance for aggression on school grounds(Mallett, 2016). This hypothetical scenario shows that sometimes there is no escaping police, broadly defined for Black youth. As a parent who has worked with youth and adults in corrections, sometimes it is easy to be hard on my boys when they get in trouble at school out of fear of not wanting to see them in a prison environment. The reaction associated with that fear would further push youth whose parents are persons of colour in law enforcement fields away from us, making it challenging for us to support and help them navigate a school system that often feels not designed for people of their skin colour. It is also possible that Black youth do not always reveal their experiences with discrimination to teachers or school administrators, especially if they perceive them to have discriminated against them. Thus, parents' reaction would also deprive the youth of an opportunity to openly share their experiences with racial discrimination in their schools to contextualize their school behaviours.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes this study by reflecting on what the findings meant for me as a Black Muslim man and former officer of corrections and the court. The chapter also highlights the value of this study and its subsequent contribution to the literature. Lastly, I state my recommendations for policy and directions for future research.

7.1 Reflection on Findings

This study explores and highlights Black youth's experiences and interactions with police to amplify their voices in Southern Alberta. The goals were, first, to examine the influences of the youth's identified gender, city of residence, age, sexual orientation, and religious affiliations in their experiences with police. Second, to explore whether their experiences differ from other Black youth in other parts of Canada. Third, to query the impacts of these experiences on their sense of belonging and perceptions of police in Southern Alberta.

The findings from this study, especially participants' narratives of their positive and negative experiences from their interactions with police, got me to reflect on my positionality as a Black person within Alberta corrections. My caseload comprised persons 18 and older of all genders and ethnicities, including identified Aryan Guard members, a white supremacist group in Calgary. I approached my work empathetically and did not perceive myself as superior to my clients. I respected them as humans with unique life experiences. Thinking about it now, I have realized that maybe my presence in corrections wasn't just about the enforcement aspect of my correctional or probation officer role. Instead, I believed I was there to have life- changing conversations with the youth I encountered in my 11-year career with provincial institutional and community corrections in Alberta. I was there to help the racialized and marginalized

trapped within the system, at least the ones I could help. Two clients' cases stood out. The first was of an Indigenous woman in her early 20s, whom I met only once. Police found her body in a ditch in Ontario, with only a next appointment slip in her personals, with my name and contact number when police found her body, a reason for the officer's call. The second was a woman in her 40s found dead in a motel in Calgary. From our last conversation before her death, she looked forward to reconnecting with her son in the child welfare system. Being a probation officer then allowed me to hear the unique stories of each person I supervised. This includes accounts of the successes and challenges they endure daily, some of which can be linked to their involvement in the criminal justice system. Put differently, I got to know clients beyond their society's ascribed criminalities.

As a Black practicing Muslim man and former corrections or probation officer, these identities may seem contentious from an abolitionist perspective, given Black people's general experiences with systemic racism within the criminal justice system that the Government of Canada (2023) has now acknowledged(Davis, 2003; Maynard, 2017; Walcott, 2021). Nonetheless, these identities offer me insider and outsider status. Being Black undoubtedly connected me to some racialized persons within the system. At the same time, I was a criminal justice insider, especially at work, depending on my willingness to laugh at inappropriate or ignored racial jokes or comments(Sapers, 2013). Sapers' (2013) work has confirmed correctional officers in Canada's federal prisons sometimes mock incarcerated Black Canadians who speak with accents. I speak with an accent, which wearing a uniform or formal attire at work won’t take away. As such, this kind of microaggression that incarcerated persons of colour experienced in Sapers’ study could have been my own, perhaps with the only difference being that the mocking would likely be in my absence.

Like most colleagues I worked alongside, I did not have the language to identify, name and explain my personal experiences and those of the individuals

trapped within the system because of the assumption that we live in a colour-blind society where one's skin colour, among other things, does not influence their experiences within the system(Delgado, 2013b; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). For example, in 2004, a trainer Correctional Officer (CO) once said we would need to double the application of pepper spray where the correctional client is Black for the chemical to take its Intended effect to gain control of a person in prison. Pepper spray, also known as Oleoresin Capsicum (OC), is a "compound that irritates the eyes to cause tears, pain and even temporary blindness" (SABRE, 2012). I knew then something was fundamentally wrong because the eyes tend to be targeted where there is a need to apply the substance. Nevertheless, I did not have the language to identify that the idea that a Black person would require double the application of pepper spray was rooted in a racist belief that Black people have a higher pain tolerance. My eyes were no different as a Black person in the CO training group, comprised of individuals of Asian and Caucasian descent, perhaps except for eye colour.

I reflect on these experiences because they unknowingly help enhance my understanding of clients' struggles to obtain meaningful employment, where actively seeking while under supervision might be a condition of a release or probation order. Additionally, my identity as a Black man with a Muslim name, Ibrahim, helped me foster genuine and professional connections with clients of African descent and practicing Muslims. Perhaps these relationships were possible because they could see me reflected in them as a Black person and Muslim. As such, it wasn't uncommon for clients to approach me to say hi in public spaces, including Malls and Parks in Calgary. These reconnections include others stopping by the probation office in downtown Calgary to share their stories of success or seek career advice. What more could have indicated people’s skills than these clients’ appreciation of one’s approach to being a probation officer? These were individuals deemed to be affiliated gang members in Calgary. The choice of topic for my master's project, which explores the contributing

factors for Black youth involvement in gangs in Canada, was my desire to explore ways to assist them better as a then probation officer.

This reflection and the knowledge that the few participants in this study who had positive encounters with the police involved racialized officers made me realize that my presence within the system was helpful to the racialized and marginalized within corrections, even though I did not have the power to influence changes to practices at an office or organizational level. Thus, as a person of colour within corrections, policing, and other law enforcement fields, one can make a difference by simply being there for racialized and marginalized others to help them navigate the system. One can also assist colleagues seeking to incorporate cultural sensitivity in their practice, which has also been my experience. It has also been my experience that the importance of your presence in the system may not be readily recognized or appreciated by one's superiors. Accordingly, as a racialized person within the criminal justice field in Canada, your value as an employee in your agency often comes directly from the appreciation of racialized and marginalized communities you interact with in your daily routines. In a society where pragmatically, we are far from abolishing any criminal justice institutions, police or corrections, I agreed with some of the participants in this study's calls for hiring more racialized police officers with connections to their communities, reflecting them in Alberta.

Policing is a cultural-colonial approach to protecting or providing safety to the vulnerable in society. The people of Sierra Leone understand this, so the police are not the primary institution they rely on to keep them safe. Safety starts with the collective efforts of providing and guiding children and youth to adulthood. For instance, for the Themnɛ people, raising children, some of whom become responsible adults, is a communal endeavour. One of the teachings that instill this collective responsibility goes like this: Babies' hands tend to be folded at birth, a cultural reminder that all children bring something to the world. It is our responsibility as adults to help and guide them to discover

what that thing is. In other words, if you cannot support a kid, don't harm a kid.

As a teen, I was always conscious that I was accountable to all adults in the community. This awareness makes it difficult to get in trouble in the first place. Black youth in this study experienced policing beyond uniform police officers, as their narratives have shown. This means there is some level of community involvement in policing Black youth in Southern Alberta, similar to communities in Sierra Leone. A key difference, however, is that community involvement focuses on protecting young people and preventing deviant acts before they occur. If a child or youth is doing something potentially dangerous to them and others, an adult can tell them to stop. This collective practice of raising children is a cultural practice. It can be learned over time and normalized like many Euro-Canadian practices today, including policing, in its various forms, where there is a will to do so. As mentioned earlier, I am a father to Black youth. Their friends' parents or my neighbours may be the first to know if they engage in deviant behaviours, such as smoking, drinking alcohol or using drugs. In the context of community involvement policing proposed here, I would want to hear from the friends' parents or neighbours about these behaviours before they become a problem, considering the alternative consequences of their actions could be imprisonment or worse. This collective parenting responsibility would eventually save taxpayers money, bearing in mind the cost of policing, prosecuting, and confinement.

7.1.1 Key Contributions

This study adds to my recently published work, where I analyzed racial profiling in Lethbridge's News media(See Turay, 2023). The collective stories of Black youth in this study provide a Counter-Narrative to the story that anti-Black police violence is not a problem in Southern Alberta. The forms of violence that Black youth experienced, however, were based on their city (mainly Calgary

and Lethbridge) and the most insidious forms of police violence took place in Lethbridge. These kinds of police violence are consistent with CRT's proposition that racism is a prevalent and daily experience for people of colour, yet subtle, therefore, unacknowledged, and hard to challenge in contemporary white supremacist societies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Matsuda et al., 1993).

Findings from this project also suggest that the low frequency of overt police violence directed towards Black people in this province may encourage comparative arguments of police violence being less overt in Canada than in the U.S. or less physical in Alberta than in Ontario. Notwithstanding, these comparisons are meaningless to people who face police violence in society.

7.3 Recommendations

These noted contributions bring me to my suggested practical applications of the findings from this study and directions for future research to further the discussion the experiences of Black youth with police in Southern Alberta and other regions of the province.

7.3.1 Policy or Practical Recommendation

Firstly, social service agencies, including the police, should consider creating social media content on Instagram and the like, explaining the basics of what one should expect when pulled over by a police officer, in languages (Krio for Sierra Leoneans, Pidgin for Nigerians, Arabic, ectara), reflective of the composition of the communities. This content should also include an outline of the process of filing complaints for police transgressions. This work should target Black women and girls aged 16-19 and 20-24. Secondly, patrol police officers should also consider proactively informing civilians of their rights not to provide any identifying information to them and that there would not be any consequence to such refusal if they must engage with members of the public through questioning.

Thirdly, police agencies in Southern Alberta should consider creating a civilian office dedicated to receiving concerns about police misconduct from racialized communities. This office should also be able to guide a complainant through the formal complaints process when warranted to increase police transparency and accountability. Fourthly, police agencies in Southern Alberta should consider conducting research following the example of the Toronto Police Service's analysis and assessment of systemic racial bias within the Services in Southern Alberta. This venture would serve to promote accountability, transparency, and public trust.

Moreover, related to the previous suggestions, police agencies in Southern Alberta should consider collecting and publishing disaggregated race-based data on police interactions with member of the public suspected of a crime. Additionally, police agencies should consider developing and implementing policies that would prevent the recording of any identifying information whatsoever where a Black person is not a suspect in a crime. Similarly, school district administrators in Southern Alberta should consider collecting and publishing yearly of disaggregated race-based data of junior-high school students who have been suspended or expelled and keep a record of school administrators'-initiated interactions with school resources police officers, including any encounter where an officer warned a young person, verbally or otherwise. The data from this study indicates Black youth from Lethbridge interact with police at younger ages slightly more often than their counterparts in Calgary.

Furthermore, Crown prosecutors in Southern Alberta should consider the role of race of the persons or cases police present to them to prosecute. It was common for clients I was supervising on probation orders to say they pleaded guilty because they wanted to get it over with, as they could not afford to miss work and did not have the financial means to fight their cases in court(Mansell et al., 1999). For Black or racialized youth who are economically disadvantaged,

participation in an extrajudicial measures program does not hold the same intended benefits of the program, especially when they are considering careers in law enforcement, including policing and corrections.

Finally, police agencies and school administrators in Southern Alberta need to expand their active efforts to attract, hire, and retain qualified persons of African descent as police officers and teachers. Administrators should also consider or commit to creating a safer environment that would allow those hired to be different beyond fitting in and to be able to serve their communities in culturally appropriate and meaningful ways informed by their lived experiences. The few positive encounters experienced by Black youth in this study took place with officers of colour in Calgary.

7.3.2 Future Research

Future researchers may also want to conduct similar studies to explore the experiences of Black youth with police in other jurisdictions in Alberta. These researchers should consider hiring Black youth from the communities of interest as research assistants for data collection. Some of the participants in this study interacted with School Resource Officers (SROs). However, apart from those in the Edmonton School Districts, there is limited information on youth's experiences with SROs. Therefore, researchers may want to investigate youth encounters, including those who belong to racialized communities with SROs in Southern Alberta.

Findings from this study also point to the need for a study that exclusively explores Black women's experiences with police in rural and urban cities in Alberta. There is also a need for research on police experiences, open to all people of African descent, age 18 and above. The compensation to participants should be aimed at the maximum amount allowed within ethical parameters to increase participation. For instance, in a similar and recent study involving youth ages 16 and 29, Haag (2023) offered a $20 honorarium to

his participants (Haag, 2021, p. 23). My interviewed participants received a $10 honorarium, with the potential to self- enter a random raffle draw for an opportunity to win another $10 if they had participated in the online survey. A guaranteed $20 honorarium could not have skewed my research findings.

Moreover, future research should explore potential ways of creating space within Black communities for multi-bi-racial Black youth in Southern Alberta. Researchers focusing on adult (20 and above) Black participants may want to consider qualitative methods for data collection. In contrast, studies targeting Black youth ages 16-19 may want to consider using short surveys to collect data. Most of the youth in that age range participated in this project online. Additionally, a good number of surveys were about more than 50 – 70 percent completed before their expiry date. Qualtrics was set only to record surveys that were 100 percent complete and submitted by a participant. Finally, Immigrant parents from racialized communities in law enforcement might sometimes be caught between fearing the potential consequences of their youth's involvement in the justice system and adequately supporting them in navigating systems that tend to reject them because of their perceived criminalities in society. As such, future researchers may also want to explore the possibility of this fear shaping the relationship between these parents and their youth in Southern Alberta and beyond.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This study validates Black youth's experiences and encounters with police, particularly those from Calgary and Lethbridge who participated in this project. The findings indicate that anti-Black police violence in Southern Alberta is just as much of an issue as it is in Toronto and Ottawa, Ontario. These findings also reveal that experiences of anti-Black violence tend to be subtle and potentially detrimental to Black youth's social, emotional, psychological, or mental well-being and that those impacted disproportionately identified as

women. This shows a need for further research on the psychological and physiological impact of overt and covert police violence on Black Canadians. It is mentally tasking to be constantly anxious, nervous, or startled from interacting with police that are supposed to make one feel safe. These outcomes also impact Black youth's sense of belonging and safety in a country where everyone should feel protected irrespective of race or skin colour. Most importantly, policing in Southern Alberta should be approached in a manner that centres on reducing one’s stress during an exchange, if at all necessary. Finally, protest should be seen differently from the common perception that it is a form of civil disobedience. Protests against anti-Black police violence validate Black people's experiences, as this study has also attempted to do.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Email Recruitment Script

Email Subject Line: Black Youth's interactions & experiences with police.

Dear _____,

My name is Ibrahim Turay. I am a Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural, Social and Political Thought (CSPT) in the Department of Women & Gender Studies at the University of Lethbridge studying Black Youth's interactions and experiences with police in Southern Alberta: Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat. I am inviting youth between ages 16 and 30, inclusive, who self-identify as Black or have African ancestry to participate in this exploratory study. You can participate in this study in two ways: online survey and interview. You can choose to participate in just the survey, where you also have the opportunity to volunteer to participate in the interview at the end of the survey. The survey will take 30-40 minutes to complete, and the interview will take an additional hour of your time if you would also consider participating in this aspect of the study.

Participation is also voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. While participating in this research poses little risk for physical harm for participants, this risk is no greater than the possible harm a participant might experience in any aspect of a participant's everyday life. There is a potential risk of emotional harm for participants, especially those who have had negative interactions and experiences with police, either directly or indirectly. It is possible that some of the questions in both the survey and qualitative interview would trigger some negative memories and may result in experiencing psychological distress, such as anxiety, restlessness, sadness, frustration, anger, helplessness, or shame. Should this occur, note that you can stop the survey or interview.

This research has been reviewed for ethical acceptability and approved by the University of Alberta Human Participant Research Committee. If you have questions about the study or are interested in the findings, you may contact me at i.turay@uleth.ca or 403-320-3202 ext. 5360. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or how the research is conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615 or reo@ualberta.ca.

Please note that you must have full decision-making capacity to complete the survey if you are between 16 and 17.

If you would be interested in completing the survey, please go to the following URL:(Link ***inserted***)

Thank you in advance for your participation.

Ibrahim Turay
Ph.D. Candidate, CSPT
University of Lethbridge
(403) 320-3202 ext. 5360
i.turay@uleth.ca

University of Lethbridge

Appendix B: Participants Needed for Research.

I am looking for volunteer youth between age 16 and 30, inclusive, who self-identify as Black or have African ancestry to take part in a study of ***Black Youth's interactions and experiences with police*** **in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks & Medicine Hat.**

You must have lived in Alberta, in either Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, or Medicine Hat, and have interacted/witnessed or know someone who has interacted with police, at least in the last four years, to participate.

You would be asked to participate in a short self-administered anonymous online survey that will take approximately 30 to 40 minutes of your time. You may also participate in a semi-structured in-depth interview around how you interpret your interactions and experiences with police. This study component will take about 1 hour of your time, and you do not need to complete the survey to volunteer to be interviewed.

Participation is anonymous and confidential. Participants between the ages of 16 & 17 must have full decision-making capacity to participate.

In appreciation for your time, you can enter a draw to win 1 of 10 $10 Tim Horton's gift cards, with 1 out 50 odds of winning.

For more information about this study or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Ibrahim Turay, Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural, Social & Political Thought
The University of Lethbridge,
Phone. 403) 320-3202 ext. 5360
Email: i.turay@uleth.ca or my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes.

This study has been reviewed for ethical acceptability and approved by the University of Alberta Human Participant Research Committee. You may contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615/reoffice@ualberta.ca.

Appendix C: Online Survey Questions

Block 1: Consent

Block 2: Questions 1 – 5 Seek to explore participants' general perceptions of police, using the POPP Scale and whether themselves or family members have experience in law enforcement.

1. Your overall view of police is:
   a. Positive
   b. Negative
   c. It complicated: Please explain:_____

2. Besides each of the statements presented below, please indicate whether you Strongly agree(1), Agree (2), Neither agree nor disagree (3), Disagree (4) or Strongly disagree(5).

	1	2	3	4	5
Police officers are friendly					
Police officers protect me					
Police officers treat all people fairly					
The police do not discriminate					
The police provide safety					
The police are trustworthy					
The police are reliable					
Police officers are unbiased					
Police officers care about my community					
In general, I feel safe when interacting with police					

3. Do you have a family member that works in law enforcement (e.g., police, corrections/probation, security, crime analyst, prosecutor?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Prefer not to answer

4. Are you currently employed, or have you been employed in any law enforcement field?
   a. Yes
   b. No
   c. Prefer not to answer

5. If yes to question 4, how would you describe your experience in that field as a Black employee?, Please explain _____.

Block 3: Questions 6-11 explore whether participants' direct interactions with police and knowledge of someone who has.

6. Have you interacted or had any experience with police in the last four years? (Interaction may include passive witnessing, direct engagement, etc.)
   a. Yes (**Branch to Blocks 4, 5,6 & the rest of the survey questions)**
   b. No (**Condition to skip to question 10**)

7. **If yes to question 6,** how many times have you interacted with the police?

a. Once
b. 2 to 5 times
c. 6 to 10 times
d. 11 to 20 times
e. More than 20 times

8. How old where you when you first had interacted with police (under 12, 13, 14, etc. years old)? Please specify _____.

9. What type of interaction (e.g. school resource officer, pedestrian or motorist)? Please specify _____.

10. Do you know someone who has had interactions with police in the last four years?

a. Yes
b. No
c. Prefer not to answer

(Note that Participants who only know someone but without themselves having direct interactions with police were only exposed to some or all questions in Blocks 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 & 9)

11. Which police agency did the officer/s you have interacted with in the last four years belong to? **Select all that apply:**

a. Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)
b. Calgary Police Service
c. Lethbridge Police Service
d. Medicine Hat Police Service
e. Other, please specify _____

Block 4: Questions 12 to 15 seek to gather participants' experiences with police as motorists. A condition to skip to question 16 will be added on the survey software where a participant answers "No" to question 12.

12. Have you ever been stopped by police while driving in the last four years?

a. Yes
b. No (**Condition to skip to question 16**)

13. How many times have the police officer stopped in the last four years?

a. Once
b. 2 to 5 times
c. 6 to 10 times
d. 11 to 20 times
e. More than 20 times

14. How often has a police officer searched during a stop while driving in the past four years?

a. Once
b. 2 to 5 times
c. 6 to 10 times
d. 11 to 20 times
e. More than 20 times

15. Besides each of the statements presented below, please indicate whether you Strongly agree(1), Agree (2), Neither agree nor disagree (3), Disagree (4) or Strongly disagree(5).

	1	2	3	4	5
Police were respectful during the stop					
Police stopped me because I was driving an expensive car					
Police stopped me because I was driving an old car					

Block 5: Questions 16 – 18 seek to explore participants' perceptions of their interactions and experiences with police as pedestrian.

16. Besides each of the statements presented below, please indicate whether you Strongly agree(1), Agree (2), Neither agree nor disagree (3), Disagree (4) or Strongly disagree(5).

	1	2	3	4	5
Police stopped me because I am Black					
Police mistreated me because of how I dress					
Police mistreated me because of my gender					
Police were dismissive of my safety concerns because of my religious affiliation					
Police mistreated me because I spoke with an accent					
Police stopped me because they suspected me of having or selling drugs					
Police feel threatened by and fearful of Black					
Police feel threatened by and fearful of young Black women					
Police feel threatened by and fearful of young Black men					
Police feel threatened because of my religious affiliation					

17. When police stopped you, what kind of clothing were you wearing? e.g., hoody, hijab, etc. Please specify _____.

18. How often have police been physically abusive to you in the past four years?

a. Once
b. 2 to 5 times
c. 6 to 10 times
d. 11 to 20 times
e. More than 20 times

Block 6: Questions 19 – 28 seek to generate qualitative information of participants' emotional, cognitive and psychological reactions resulting from their most recent interactions with police in the last four years.

19. Thinking of your most recent stop by police in the last four years, did the police inform you of the reason for the stop?
    a. Yes
    b. No
20. Describe why you think this happened? _____.
21. How did this affect you? _____.
22. How did you feel afterward? _____.
23. How did you cope with this? _____.
24. Did this change your life in any significant way, and if so, how?
25. Did this change your perception of police? _____.
26. Are there any other experiences with police that you would want to share? Please specify: _____.

27. Thinking of your last interaction with police in the last four years, the officer was:
    a. Female
    b. Male
    c. Not sure
28. Are there any other experiences with law enforcement personnel (e.g. Correction/probation/security officers etc.) you would like to share? If so, please explain_____.

Block 7: Questions 29 – 37 seek to explore participants' perceptions of safety in their neighbourhood and sense of belonging.

29. To what degree do you think crime is a problem in your neighbourhood?
    a. Never a problem
    b. Rarely a problem
    c. Sometimes a problem
    d. Often a problem
    e. Always a problem
30. How safe do you feel at night in your neighbourhood?
    a. Always safe
    b. Often safe
    c. Sometimes feel safe
    d. Rarely safe
    e. Never safe
31. How safe do you feel during the day in your neighbourhood?
    a. Always safe
    b. Often safe
    c. Sometimes safe
    d. Rarely safe
    e. Never safe
32. Who keeps you safe in your neighbourhood? Please specify _____

Block 8: Questions 33-34 explores participants' sense of belonging in their city, province, Canada as a whole and in their Black communities.

33. Besides each of the statements presented below, please indicate whether you Strongly agree(1), Agree (2), Neither agree nor disagree (3), Disagree (4) or Strongly disagree(5).

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel like I belong in my city or town					
I feel like I belong in Alberta					
I feel like I belong in Canada					
I feel like I belong in my Black community					

34. What gives you a sense of belonging or not belonging to any or all these communities?. Please explain _____

Block 9: Questions 35 – 42 seek to collect demographic information on participants.

35. Which gender do you best identify with?
    a. Female
    b. Male
    c. Other (please specify) ----------

36. Do you identify as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, two-spirit person, or person with any queer sexual orientation?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Prefer not to answer

37. Which age range best represents you?
    a. 16-19
    b. 20-24
    c. 25-30

38. What is your highest level of education?
    a. High school or below
    b. College certificate/diploma
    c. Bachelor's degree
    d. Other (please specify) ----------

39. What is your employment status?
    a. Employed (full time more than 35 hours a month)
    b. Employed (part-time, less than 35 hrs/month)
    c. Unemployed
    d. Other (please specify) ----------

40. Are you a current student?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Prefer not to answer

41. What is your immigration status?
    a. Born in Canada
    b. Canadian citizen born outside of Canada
    c. Landed immigrant
    d. Migrant worker (work visa)
    e. Student visa
    f. Refugee
    g. Other (please specify) ----------

42. Which city/town do you reside in?
    a. Calgary
    b. Lethbridge
    c. Brooks
    d. Medicine Hat
    e. Other (please specific)_____.

Appendix D: Information Letter and Consent Form

Study Title: Black Youth's Interactions and Experiences with Police in Southern Alberta.

Research Investigator:
Ibrahim Turay
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
i.turay@uleth.ca
(403) 320-3202 ext. 5360

Supervisor:
Dr. Caroline Hodes
Associate Professor
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
(403) 000-0000

What is this study about?

You are invited to participate in a study that explores the interactions and experiences of African, Afro-descendent, or Black-identifying youth (between the ages of 16 and 30 years old, inclusive) with the police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat, Alberta. This research aims to examine how these experiences influence Black Youth's sense of citizenship and belonging in Canadian society from the perspective of Black youth themselves.

All participants must be fully capable of deciding to participate or not on their own. You must also have had directly interacted, witnessed, or known someone who had interacted with police in the last four years.

What is expected of you?

The interview will take about an hour of your time, where I will be asking questions about your experiences with your interactions with the police. I will conduct the interviews via Teams, Zoom, WhatsApp or telephone, and you will have the option to turn off your video during the interview. Your participation means you consented to me recording just the audio of our conversation, using Otter, a voice recording application, to capture your story for later accurate transcription. You can review the transcript of your interview. Please let me know if you desire to do so.

What are the benefits of participating?

There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study; however, your contribution would help highlight the unique experiences of Black Youth with police in Southern Alberta and validate their experiences with police in their various communities. You will receive a $10 Tim Horton gift card in appreciation for your time. I will ask your email address to forward the gift card if you wish to receive one, and you do not have to have completed the interview to receive the gift.

What are the risks of participating?

There are minimal anticipated physical risks. The potential harm you may encounter through participation in this study is no greater than the possible harm you might experience in any aspect of your everyday life. There is a potential risk of emotional injury for participants, especially those who have had negative interactions and experiences with police, either directly or indirectly. You may experience: Anxiety, Restlessness, Sadness, Frustration, Anger, and Helplessness or shame.

You can stop the survey anytime should this occur.

What if I need additional assistance after I complete the survey?

Here are some resources if you need someone for assistance: Canada suicide prevention services: 1-833-456-4566 (24/7) and Kids Help Phone: 1-800-668-6868 or text: 686868

Do I have to participate?

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you do not have to participate. You are free to end the interview at any time.

How will your privacy and identity be protected?

Participation is entirely voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. I will not use the real names of any participant during the interview or transcript. Your information will be kept private, except if you provide information, I have a legal obligation as a Researcher to report, like child abuse. You have the right not to answer any question you do not want to answer.

All data collected in this study will be encrypted stored on a password-protected Microsoft OneDrive, with restricted access. The information will be deleted five years after data collection has been completed.

How can a participant withdraw?

You can withdraw by simply telling me during the interview. You can also contact me up to two weeks after your interview if you wish to withdraw. If you decide to withdraw from the study, I will destroy the recording and transcript of the interview.

What will happen to the information you shared?

The results from this study may be published in different ways, including presenting the aggregated findings at academic conferences and submitting them to peer-review journals, like the Canadian Sociological Association the Canadian Criminal Justice Association. The conclusions of this study will also form a significant component of my Ph.D. dissertation. I will also share the results through writing newspaper op-eds and at appropriate organized community events. I will protect your identity in any publication or presentation.

How can I obtain feedback on the study?

For more information on this study or a summary of the findings, available after June 2023, you may contact me at i.turay@uleth.ca. You can contact me four weeks after your interview if you wish to review your interview transcript. I would

assume the transcription is accurate if I did not hear from you a week after sending it to you.

Whom can I contact if I need more information about the study?

If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes, at the numbers mentioned herein.

The plan for this study has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or how the research is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615 or reoffice@ualberta.ca.

Consent Statement

I have read this form, and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

_____ _____

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature Date

_____ _____

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix E: Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Study Title: Black Youth's Interactions and Experiences with Police in Southern Alberta.

Research Investigator:
Ibrahim Turay
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Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
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(403) 320-3202 ext. 5360

Supervisor:
Dr. Caroline Hodes, Associate Professor
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
(403) 000-0000

Dear Parents or Guardians

My name is Ibrahim Turay of the Women & Gender Studies Department at the University of Lethbridge. I'm inviting your child to participate in a study looking at the interactions and experiences of Black Youth with police in Southern Alberta: Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat. I want to understand these interactions from their perspectives to amplify their voices and validate their experiences. Your child can participate by completing a survey, being interviewed or both. I'm seeking permission to interview your child. The interview should take about an hour long.

I anticipate minimal physical risks for your child. If they encounter any trouble because of their participation, that risk is no greater than the possible harm they might experience in any aspect of their daily life. Your child may experience emotional hurt from some of the questions if they have had negative interactions and experiences with police, either directly or indirectly. They may experience anxiety, restlessness, sadness, frustration, anger, helplessness, or shame. They can stop the interview and seek help. Here are some resources your child could access for assistance: Canada suicide prevention services: 1-833-456-4566 (24/7) and Kids Help Phone: 1-800-668-6868 or text: 686868.

I will not use their name during the interview or on the transcript to protect their privacy and identity. Study participants don't have to answer any question study participants do not want to answer. Regardless of your providing consent, I will be asking for their assent and know that they are free to choose to participate or not without consequences. They will receive a $10 Tim Horton gift card to appreciate their time. I will ask for their email address to forward the gift card if they wish to receive one, and they do not have to have completed the interview to receive the gift.

Your child can stop the interview and withdraw entirely from the study. You can request to withdraw them and their data up to two weeks after the interview. I will destroy the recording and transcript of the interview then.

I will use the results from this study to complete my Ph.D. dissertation. I will also share the results through publication in academic journals and writing newspaper op-eds, and at appropriate organized community events. I will protect your child's identity in any publication or presentation. If you wish to receive a copy of the results from this study, you may contact me at i.turay@uleth.ca after June 2023.

Please call me at 403-320-3202 ext. 5360 or i.turay@uleth.ca. for any additional information about this study. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes, at (403) 000-0000.

The Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta has reviewed and approved the plan for this study. If you have any questions regarding your child's rights as a research participant or how the research is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615 or reo@ualberta.ca.

A copy of this consent form will be given to you to keep for your records and reference.

I have read (or have been read) the above information regarding this research study on Black youth's interactions and experiences with police and consent for my child to participate in this study.

Printed Name of Child Participant:

_____

Printed Name of Parent/Guardian:

_____

Signature of Parent/Guardian: _____Date:

_____

Printed Name of Researcher:

_____

Signature of
Researcher:_____Date:_____

Appendix F: Assent (For Minor Interview Participants)

Ibrahim Turay, Ph.D. Candidate
University of Lethbridge
Phone. 403)
Email: i.turay@uleth.ca

Why are you here?
My name is Ibrahim Turay from the University of Lethbridge. I want to see if you would like to be in my study. I want to learn what you think about your interactions and experiences with the police.

What is expected of you?
If you agree to be in my study, I will interview you to tell me the whole story of your experience with the police. You do not have to answer any of the questions I will be asking you. Some of the questions I will be asking you may upset you, and you can tell me to stop the interview if you feel upset during the interview.

Who will know you are in my study?
When I tell other people about my research, I will not use your name. Other people will not know if you are in my study. I will be the only one who will see your answers. I will put your answers with the answers of others in my study so no one can tell what answers came from you. The interview should take about an hour of your time.

Where will the study take place?
The interview will be via Zoom, MS Teams, Skype, FaceTime, or over the phone due to COVID-19 concerns. You can have your camera off during the interview if you like. I will transcribe the interview word-for-word, and you will have the opportunity to review the transcript afterwards. If you want, I will send you the transcript after four weeks of the interview, and you will have a week to get it back to me. If I don't hear from you, I will take that nothing needs to change. I will only record your voices and not the video frames of the discussion.

Do I have to be in the study?
No. Your parents or guardian have to agree for you to be in my study and then you get to decide if you want to be in my study. If you don't want to be in my study, no one will be mad at you. If you want to be in the study and then change your mind later, you can do that too. Call or email me within two weeks after your interview, and I will take your information out from the study.

Will the study help me?
You will not benefit directly from participating in this study, but your matters and I would want to hear and share your story. Your story could inform police

education and training and increase racial equity in police practices in Alberta. You will have the chance to receive a $10 Tim Horton gift card whether I interview you or not. I will need your email address to send the gift card to you electronically.

What if I have questions?
You can ask me questions at any time. My phone number and email address are at the top of this page. You can also ask your parents or guardian if you have any questions because I explained the study to them. You can also contact my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes, at (403) 000-0000 or the Research Ethics Office of the University of Alberta 780-492-2615 or reoffice@ualberta.ca, to ask questions.

I will give you a copy of this form in case you want to ask questions later.

Agreement
I have decided to be in the study even though I know that I don't have to do it. Ibrahim Turay has answered all my questions.

_____

Printed Name of Participant

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____

Printed Name of Researcher Date

Appendix G: In-depth Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Preamble:
Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. As discussed, when reviewing the voluntary informed consent letter, you are not required to answer any question that you do not feel comfortable answering or share anything that you do not want to share, and you may withdraw from this study at any time. I will be recording our conversation today, but I will be the only person to access this recording. I will transcribe your interview for data analysis purposes. Your name will not appear on the transcript. I will also lock all recordings in a secured cabinet that only I can access. I do appreciate your time and willingness to sharing your experience with me today. The result from this study will add to the slow but growing documentation of Black youth's experiences with police in Canada, and specifically, from Southern Alberta. Note that I have a legal obligation as a Researcher to report violations of the law, including child abuse, to the appropriate authority. I will not ask you about any past or present involvement with the law in this study.

What question do you have for me before we begin the interview?

Demographics
Which age group best represents you: **16-19, 20-24, 25-30?**
Which gender do you identified with: **Male, Female, Non-binary?**
What is your Level of education: **High school diploma, college certificate/diploma, university degree** or other _____?
Which city have you lived in: **Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, Medicine Hat or other**?

Open-ended Questions:

1. You have had interactions or contact with police in the last four years?
2. What was the nature of the interaction?
    a. Probing questions, when applicable:
        i. What was your experience from that interaction?
        ii. What are the results of that interaction?
        iii. How many police officers were involved?
        iv. How did this affect you?
        v. How did you feel afterward?
        vi. How did you cope with this?
        vii. Did this change your life in any significant way, if so how?
        viii. How has this experience impacted your sense of belonging as a citizen or resident of your city/town, province and Canada?
        ix. Do you feel like you belong in your Black community, if not why?
3. Tell me about a time when you think police treated you differently because of your identified:
    a. Gender,
    b. Sexual orientation
    c. Religious affiliation.
4. Do you see yourself as a threat to a police officer?
5. Why do you think police officers feel threatened by and fearful of Black youth, especially young Black males?
6. What would have made this experience different from what you have shared with me?

Appendix H: Information Letter and Consent Form

Study Title: Black Youth's Interactions and Experiences with Police in Southern Alberta.

Research Investigator:
Ibrahim Turay
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
i.turay@uleth.ca
(403)

Supervisor:
Dr. Caroline Hodes
Associate Professor
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
(403) 000-0000

What is this study about?

You are invited to participate in a study that explores the interactions and experiences of African, Afro-descendent, or Black-identifying youth (between the ages of 16 and 30 years old, inclusive) with the police in Calgary, Lethbridge, Brooks, and Medicine Hat, Alberta. This research aims to examine how these experiences influence Black Youth's sense of citizenship and belonging in Canadian society from the perspective of Black youth themselves.

All participants must be fully capable of deciding to participate or not on their own. You must also have had directly interacted, witnessed, or known someone who had interacted with police in the last four years.

What is expected of you?

The interview will take about an hour of your time, where I will be asking questions about your experiences with your interactions with the police. I will conduct the interviews via Teams, Zoom, WhatsApp or telephone, and you will have the option to turn off your video during the interview. Your participation means you consented to me recording just the audio of our conversation, using Otter, a voice recording application, to capture your story for later accurate transcription. You can review the transcript of your interview. Please let me know if you desire to do so.

What are the benefits of participating?

There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study; however, your contribution would help highlight the unique experiences of Black Youth with police in Southern Alberta and validate their experiences with police in their various communities. You will receive a $10 Tim Horton gift card in appreciation for your time. I will ask your email address to forward the gift card if you wish to receive one, and you do not have to have completed the interview to receive the gift.

What are the risks of participating?

There are minimal anticipated physical risks. The potential harm you may encounter through participation in this study is no greater than the possible

harm you might experience in any aspect of your everyday life. There is a potential risk of emotional injury for participants, especially those who have had negative interactions and experiences with police, either directly or indirectly. You may experience: Anxiety, Restlessness, Sadness, Frustration, Anger, and Helplessness or shame. You can stop the survey anytime should this occur.

What if I need additional assistance after I complete the survey?
Here are some resources if you need someone for assistance: Canada suicide prevention services: 1-833-456-4566 (24/7) and Kids Help Phone: 1-800-668-6868 or text: 686868.

Do I have to participate?
Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you do not have to participate. You are free to end the interview at any time.

How will your privacy and identity be protected?
Participation is entirely voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. I will not use the real names of any participant during the interview or transcript. Your information will be kept private, except if you provide information, I have a legal obligation as a Researcher to report, like child abuse. You have the right not to answer any question you do not want to answer.

All data collected in this study will be encrypted stored on a password-protected Microsoft OneDrive, with restricted access. The information will be deleted five years after data collection has been completed.

How can a participant withdraw?
You can withdraw by simply telling me during the interview. You can also contact me up to two weeks after your interview if you wish to withdraw. If you decide to withdraw from the study, I will destroy the recording and transcript of the interview.

What will happen to the information you shared?
The results from this study may be published in different ways, including presenting the aggregated findings at academic conferences and submitting them to peer-review journals, like the Canadian Sociological Association the Canadian Criminal Justice Association. The conclusions of this study will also form a significant component of my Ph.D. dissertation. I will also share the results through writing newspaper op-eds and at appropriate organized community events. I will protect your identity in any publication or presentation.

How can I obtain feedback on the study?
For more information on this study or a summary of the findings, available after June 2023, you may contact me at i.turay@uleth.ca. You can contact me four weeks after your interview if you wish to review your interview transcript. I would assume the transcription is accurate if I did not hear from you a week after sending it to you.

Whom can I contact if I need more information about the study?
If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes, at the numbers mentioned herein. The plan for this study has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or how the research is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615 or reoffice@ualberta.ca.

Consent Statement

I have read this form, and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions, and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

_____ _____

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature Date

_____ _____

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix I: Oral Consent Script

University of Lethbridge

Study Title: Black Youth's Interactions and Experiences with Police in Southern Alberta.

Research Investigator:
Ibrahim Turay
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
i.turay@uleth.ca
(403)

Supervisor:
Dr. Caroline Hodes
Associate Professor
University of Lethbridge
Lethbridge, AB, T1K 3M4
(403) 000-0000

IRB No.: Pro00118086
Version Date: Oct 30, 2020

What is this study about?

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What is expected of you?

The interview will take about an hour of your time, where I will be asking questions about your experiences with your interactions with the police. I will conduct the interviews via Teams, Zoom, WhatsApp or telephone, and you will have the option to turn off your video during the interview. Your participation means you consented to me recording just the audio of our conversation, using Otter, a voice recording application, to capture your story for later accurate transcription. You can review the transcript of your interview. Please let me know if you desire to do so.

What are the benefits of participating?

There are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study; however, your contribution would help highlight the unique experiences of Black Youth with police in Southern Alberta and validate their experiences with police in their various communities. You will receive a $10 Tim Horton gift card in appreciation for your time. I will ask your email address to forward the gift

card if you wish to receive one, and you do not have to have completed the interview to receive the gift.

What are the risks of participating?
There are minimal anticipated physical risks. The potential harm you may encounter through participation in this study is no greater than the possible harm you might experience in any aspect of your everyday life. There is a potential risk of emotional injury for participants, especially those who have had negative interactions and experiences with police, either directly or indirectly. You may experience: Anxiety, Restlessness, Sadness, Frustration, Anger, and Helplessness or shame. You can stop the survey anytime should this occur.

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Participation is entirely voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. I will not use the real names of any participant during the interview or transcript. Your information will be kept private, except if you provide information, I have a legal obligation as a Researcher to report, like child abuse. You have the right not to answer any question you do not want to answer.

All data collected in this study will be encrypted stored on a password-protected Microsoft OneDrive, with restricted access. The information will be deleted five years after data collection has been completed.

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You can withdraw by simply telling me during the interview. You can also contact me up to two weeks after your interview if you wish to withdraw. If you decide to withdraw from the study, I will destroy the recording and transcript of the interview.

What will happen to the information you shared?
The results from this study may be published in different ways, including presenting the aggregated findings at academic conferences and submitting them to peer-review journals, like the Canadian Sociological Association the Canadian Criminal Justice Association. The conclusions of this study will also form a significant component of my Ph.D. dissertation. I will also share the results through writing newspaper op-eds and at appropriate organized community events. I will protect your identity in any publication or presentation.

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Whom can I contact if I need more information about the study?

If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact me or my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Hodes, at the numbers mentioned herein.

The plan for this study has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant or how the research is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at 780-492-2615 or reoffice@ualberta.ca.

Consent Statement

With your permission and by stating ***YES***, is it okay to proceed with the interview, including recording our discussion? Please provide me with your email address or fax number to send you a copy of this consent for your record.

Printed Name of Participant:

_____

Date of Oral Consent:_____

Printed Name of Researcher:

_____

Signature of
Researcher:_____Date:_____